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# The Lolovoli dialect of the North-East Ambae language, Vanuatu

Catriona Hyslop



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# Abstract

---

This book is a grammatical description of the Lolovoli dialect of the North-East Ambae language of Vanuatu, a member of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian. It is a conservative Oceanic language, possessing some typical Oceanic features. The language has strict AVO/SV word order, and possesses head-marking characteristics.

After an introduction to the language, its speakers and their place in Chapter 1, and an outline of phonological structure in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 begins discussion of the morphosyntax of the language. Chapters 3 and 4 are important in introducing the basic building blocks of the language, Chapter 3 discussing basic clause structure and justifying recognition of the grammatical relations, subject and object, and Chapter 4 setting up the word classes which can be distinguished.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 look at nominal aspects of the grammar. Chapter 5 analyses the structure of the noun phrase, Chapter 6 describes prepositional phrases and locational adjuncts, and Chapter 7 describes possessive and associative constructions. There is an important distinction between direct and indirect possessive constructions, which reflects the inalienable-alienable distinction. The associative construction shares its structure with the direct possessive construction, but is used with nonspecific ‘possessors’, and can have a purposive function.

The system of spatial reference which operates in the language is described in Chapter 8. The system is typically Oceanic, with a class of directionals which involve a complex interaction between an absolute and deictic system. There is also a set of locational nouns for referring to absolute locations, and a set of relational nouns used to refer to intrinsic relationships between objects.

Chapters 9, 10 and 11 are concerned with the verbal aspects of the grammar. Chapter 9 describes the structure of the verb phrase, Chapter 10 analyses complex predicates formed by verb serialisation, and Chapter 11 details the possibilities for valency change and rearrangement. Chapter 12 goes on to describe reduplication, which has many functions, particularly when applied to verbs.

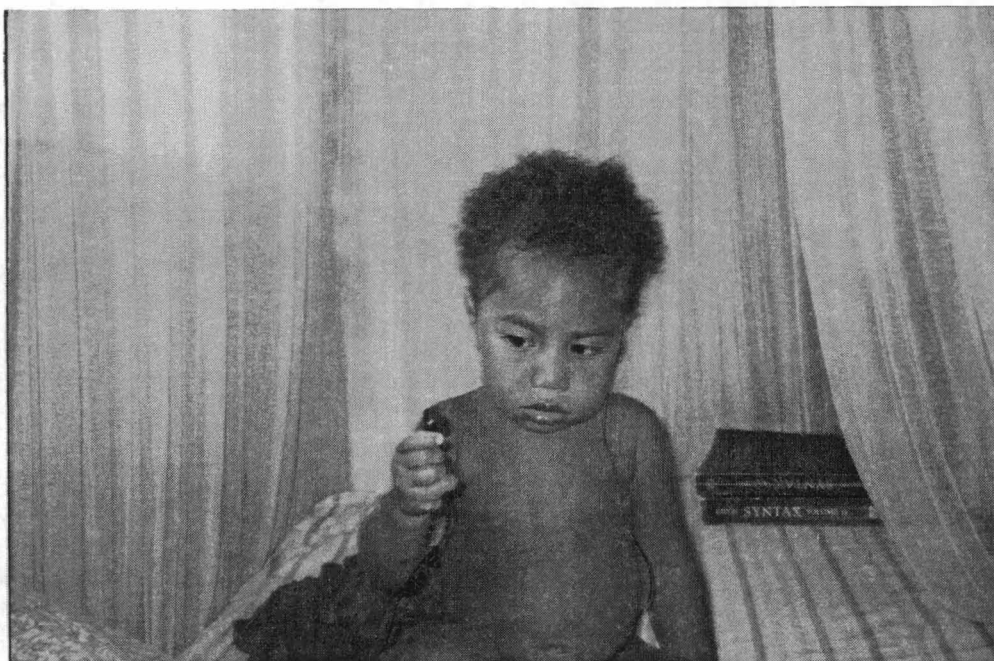
Chapters 13, 14 and 15 are all concerned with clause structure. In Chapter 13 nonverbal clauses are described, and Chapters 14 and 15 discuss complex sentences, analysing, respectively, subordinate clauses and coordinate constructions.

# List of abbreviations

---

-	Separates morphemes
=	Separates clitics
.	Separates words in a multi-word gloss or meanings in a semantically complex morpheme
:	Separates meanings in a portmanteau morpheme
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
+ve	positive
-ve	negative
ABL	Ablative preposition
ACC	Accusative case article
AL	Alienable suffix
ALL	Allative preposition
ANTI	Anticausative prefix
APPL	Applicative suffix
APPRE	Apprehensive mood particle
ASS	Associative suffix
BEN	Benefactive preposition
CAUS	Causative suffix
CL.DRINK	Drink possession classifier
CL.FOOD	Food possession classifier
CL.GEN	General possession classifier
CL.NAT	Natural or valued object possession classifier
COM	Comitative preposition
COMP	Complementiser
CON	Confective preposition
CONJ	Conjunction
CONST	Construct suffix
DAT	Dative preposition
DEHOR	Dehortative mood particle
DEM	Demonstrative formative prefix
DEN	Denizen
DIR	Deictic specifying direction towards addressee/past-future deictic centre

DIST	Distal demonstrative
DL	Dual marker
EMPH	Emphatic demonstrative
EX	Exclusive
IN	Inclusive
INDEF	Indefinite article
INST	Instrumental preposition
INT	Intensifier
IRR	Irrealis mood particle
k.o.	kind of
LOC	Locative case article or preposition
NEG	Negative particle
NOM	Nominative case article
NP	Noun phrase
NR	Nominaliser
NSG	Non-singular
NUM	Numeral marker
O	Object enclitic
P	Possessive suffix
PERS	Personal article
PL	Plural human article
PP	Prepositional phrase
PURP	Purposive preposition or subordinator
RC	Relative clause
REAL	Realis mood particle
RECIP	Reciprocal particle
REDUP	Reduplication
REL	Relativiser
S	Subject proclitic
SG	Singular
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
TEL	Telic aspect particle
to.sp	towards the speaker
TR	Transitive suffix
v.i.	Intransitive verb
VP	Verb phrase
v.t.	Transitive verb

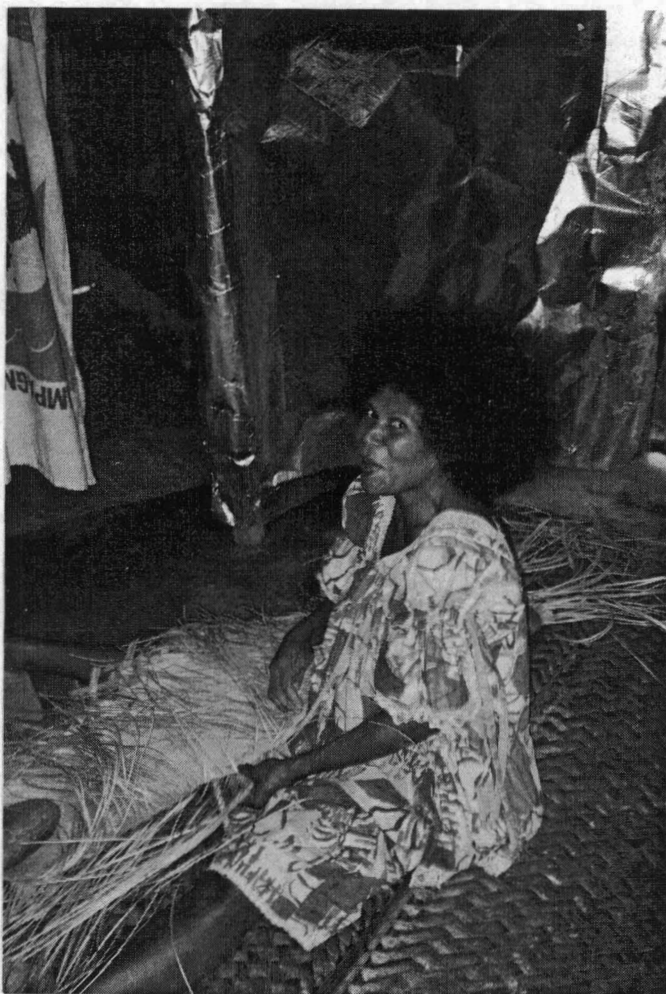


My youngest informant, Brown Garae Thompson...

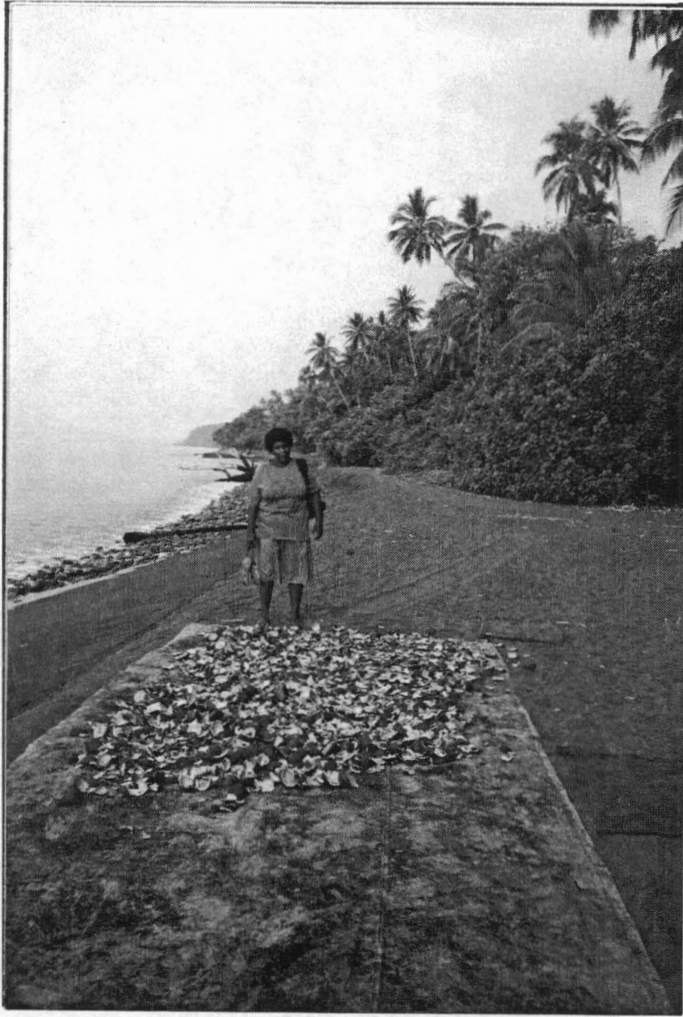


...and my oldest informant, Brown's grandfather, Thompson Garae Lolo,  
accompanied by some of his grandchildren.

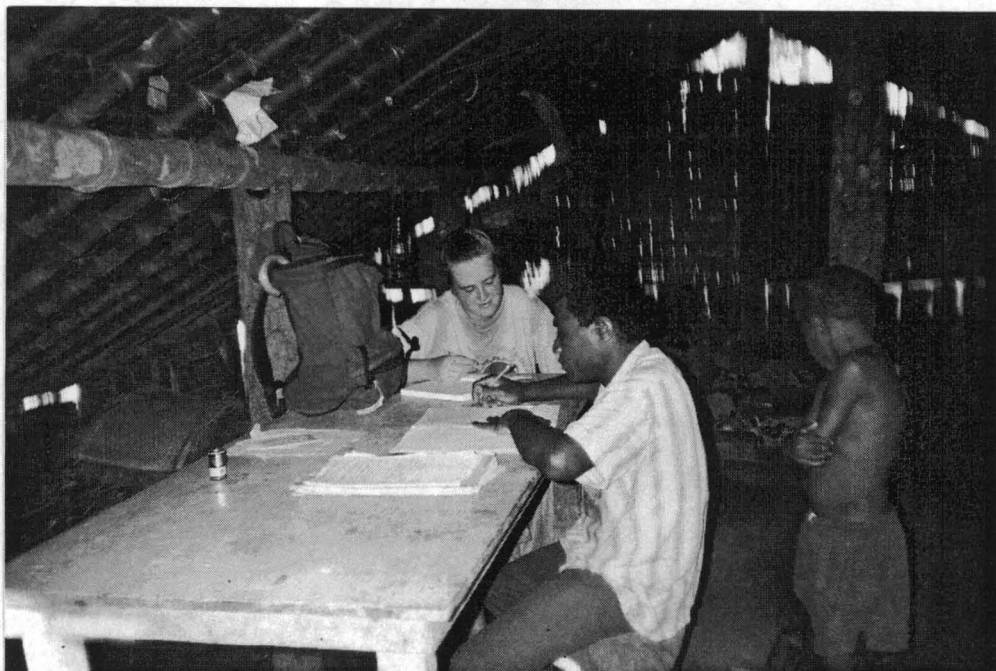




Roselyn Garae, Vanuatu Cultural Centre fieldworker for South-East Ambae, and my chief language assistant. Roselyn is weaving a pandanus mat, and throughout the book, any example sentences with the reference 'RV' are from a text in which Roselyn talks about the history of weaving on Ambae.



Jennifer Mwera, Vanuatu Cultural Centre fieldworker for North Ambae.  
Jennifer is standing next to a pile of copra drying on the beach at Walurigi.



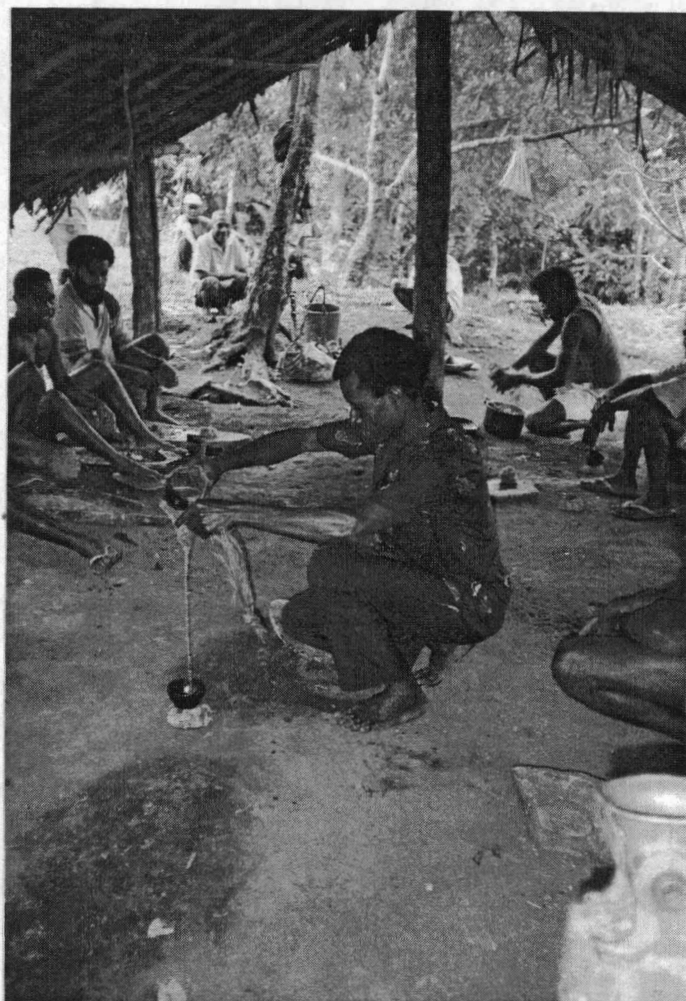
The author, with Stanley Bani, one of my language assistants, working inside his *gamali* 'clubhouse'.



Salome Tanga (right), one of my language assistants, with her daughter, Craisalyn, and sister, Margaret.

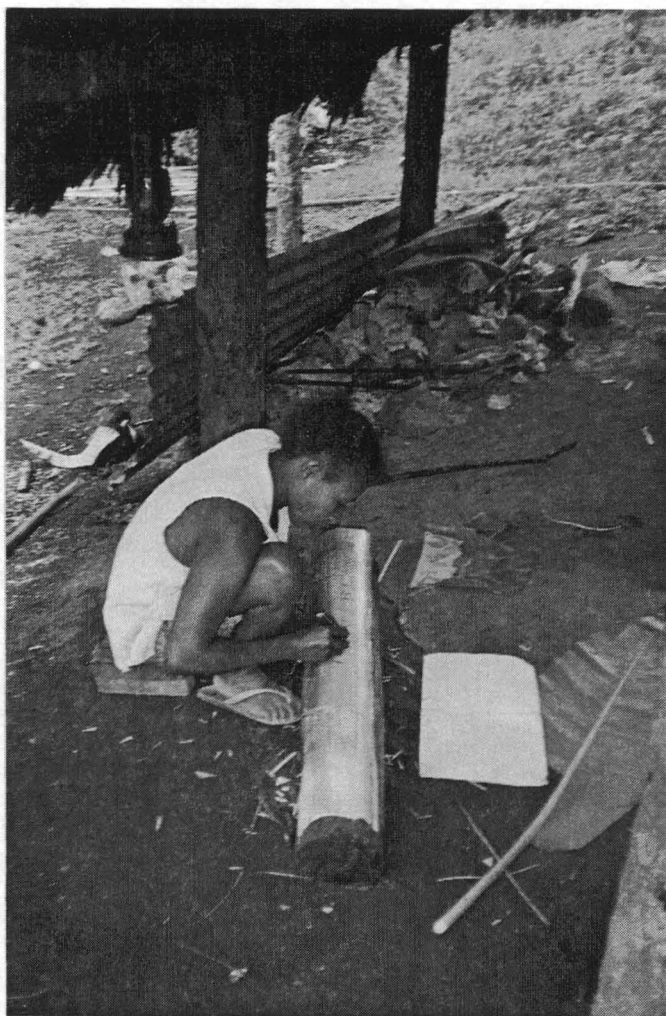


Melin Solomon, making a type of *lokoi qeta* 'taro pudding'.  
Melin related to me the procedure involved with making *loko*,  
and any example sentences with the reference 'ML' have been taken from this text.



Edward, pouring *malogu* 'kava'.  
I recorded Edward telling the history of the origin of kava,  
and any example sentences which appear with the reference 'EK'  
have been taken from this text.





Melis Mauri Bageo cutting a *qegavi* 'stencil' from a banana spathe, for use in the dyeing of a *qana*, a type of woven pandanus mat.

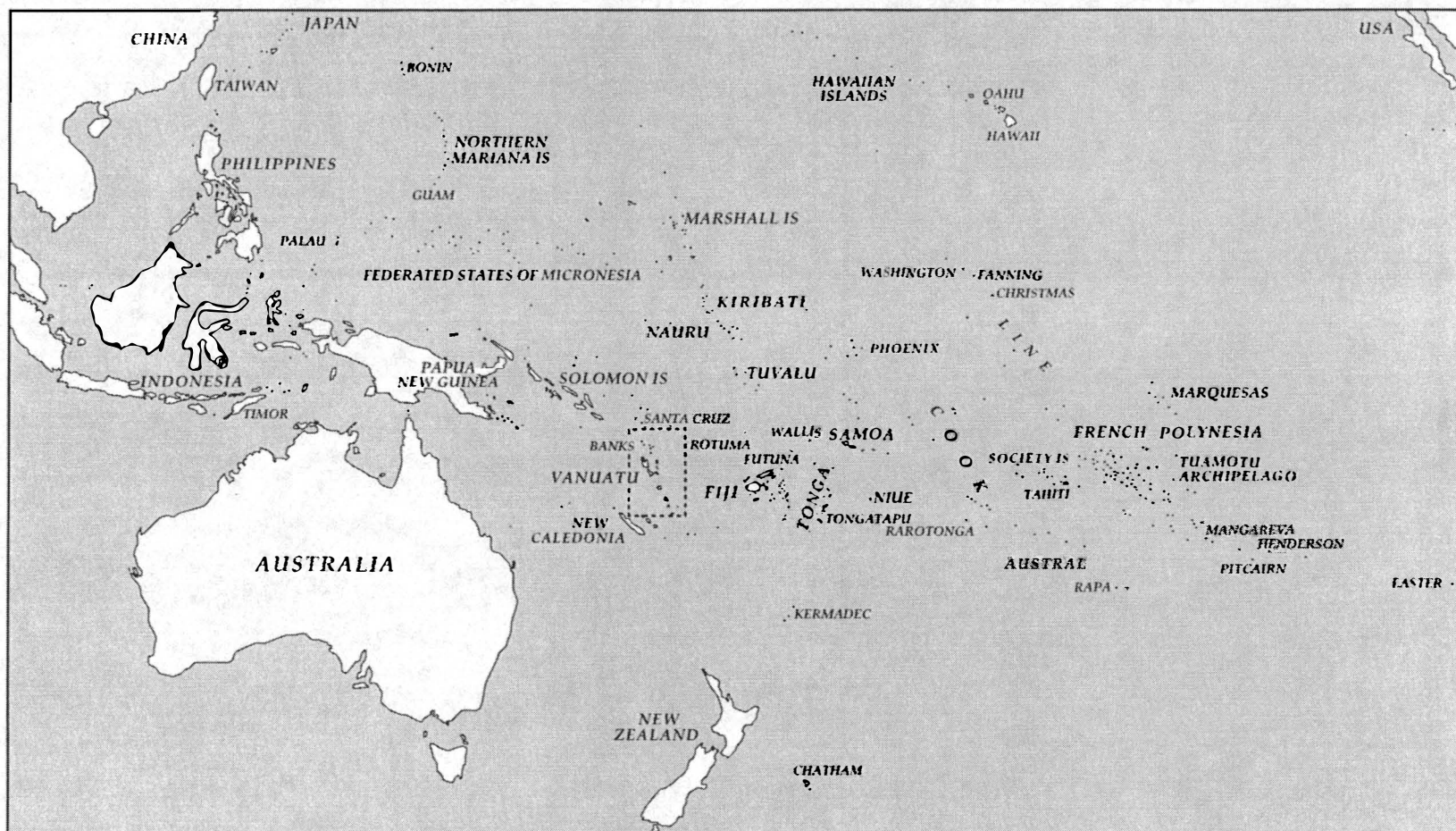
Example sentences with the reference 'ML' are from a text in which Melis describes the procedure involved in dyeing mats.



The people of Lolovoli come together to 'farewell' the *gamali* 'clubhouse' of their chief, Joseph Mauri (centre), and thank it for its years of service. This celebration is described by Michael Tahī in the text 'MN'.

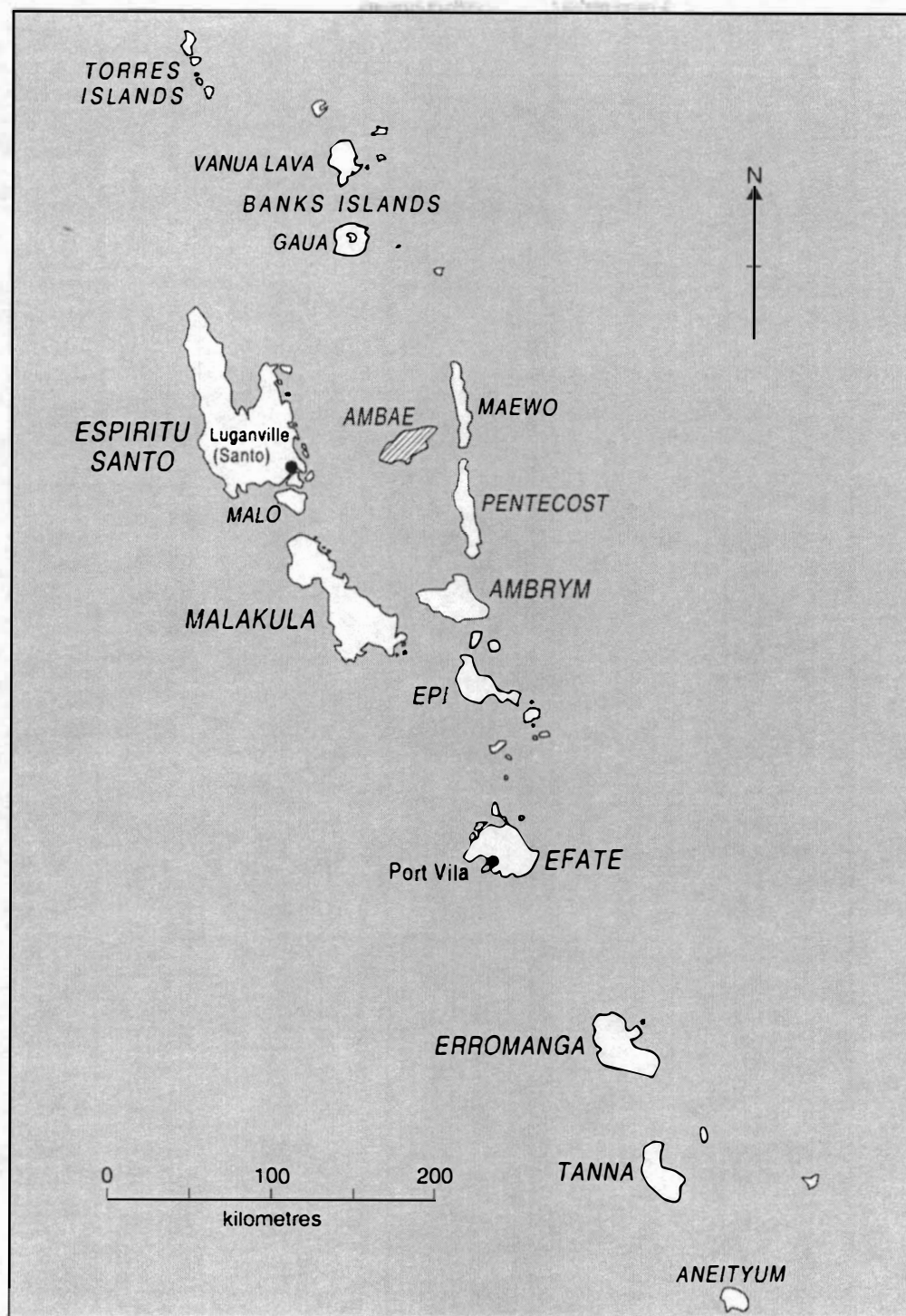


A group of Lolovoli children, returning home after a day's *mwosoko* 'adventuring'.

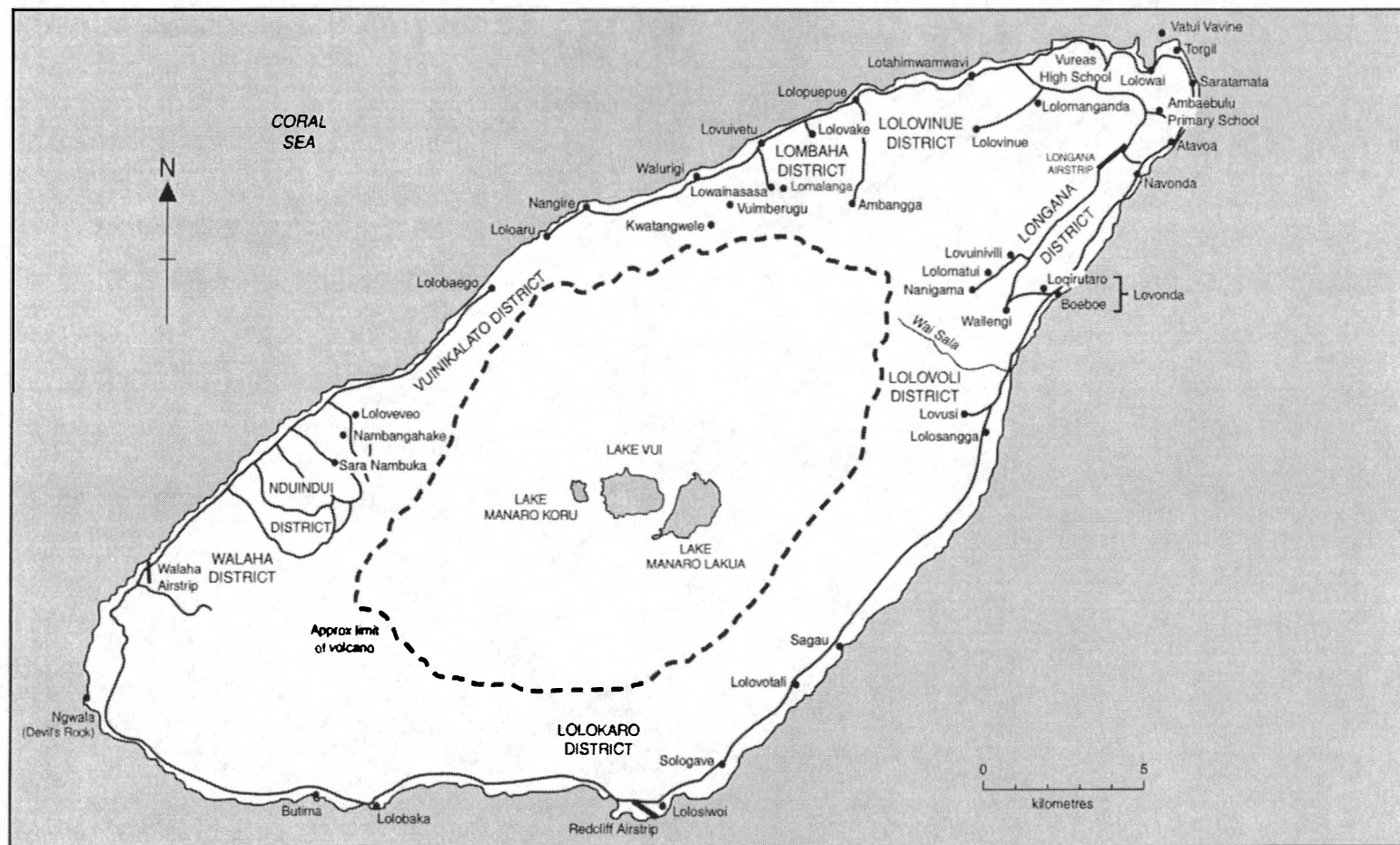


**Map 1: Vanuatu within the South-West Pacific**





Map 2: Ambae within Vanuatu



Map 3: Ambae

# 1

## Introduction

---

### 1.1 LOLOVOLI: THE PLACE WHERE THE LANGUAGE WAS BOUGHT

Many place names on the island of Ambae in northern Vanuatu begin with the morpheme *lo(lo)*, which represents the locative case article. The meaning of these names is thus, ‘at the place of X’, where the name records something significant about the location, whether it be a geographical feature, an event which occurred there, or, most commonly, the name of a prominent tree which stands in the village. In the north of the island is a village called Lotahimwamwavi, ‘at the place where the sea is hot’, so called due to the hot springs which well up by the sea shore at this spot. In the east is the village of Loqaru, ‘at the place of the graves’, and in the south is Lolovotoli, ‘at the place of the bananas’. The dialect described in this study is spoken in the Lolovoli district, *voli* meaning ‘to buy, pay’. The place name commemorates a payment, a ceremonial exchange which was a significant event in the area’s history. The item which was bought was the language of the district.

According to the oral history which describes this event, the people of Longana, the district directly to the north-east of Lolovoli, much admired the language of the people of Lolovoli. Although the two districts spoke closely related dialects, there were certain distinguishing features of the Lolovoli dialect which the Longana speakers wished to have as their own. So, the two districts reached an agreement that the Longanans would buy the right to speak some of the words of the Lolovoli dialect, and the two districts would therefore swap part of their languages.

This purchase of the language was a noteworthy event not only due to the unique nature of the item being bought, but also because of the item which was given in payment. In Ambae culture the most highly valued forms of wealth are pigs, pigs’ tusks and woven pandanus mats, which along with kava and taro, are the items which are used both for trade and for ceremonial purposes. These items probably formed part of the exchange of the languages, but the main item which was used to pay for the language was nuts from a particular variety of the *vele* ‘*Barringtonia edulis*’ nut tree. This particular variety, called *vele voli* in Lolovoli to mark the occasion on which it was first obtained in that district, is prized for the fact that it is a short tree, bearing nuts when it is only the height of a man. As it was a tree which the Lolovoli people did not have in their district, they agreed to sell some of their language to obtain this tree. The exchange was made at a place within the Lolovoli district which has since then come to be known as Waluivoli, ‘the valley of the payment’. In making the

exchange, the people of Lolovoli agreed to renounce their original language and speak instead the words of the Longana language from then on. As with any other exchange, the Longanans had paid for full rights to the language, and if any person from Lolovoli was heard speaking it, they would be obliged to pay a fine to the Longanans.

While the precise details of this exchange are not known by many today, the legacy remains. The people of Ambae in general are very aware of differences between the various dialects, but those with whom I spoke in Lolovoli often made a particular point of ensuring that I was aware of the differences between Longana and Lolovoli speech, despite the fact that they are more similar than other dialects. How long ago the exchange took place is not known. It was certainly well before the birth of the oldest speakers of the language, but these older speakers all know the story, and it is they who would inform me, 'that used to be our language, but the Longanans bought it from us.' While the time has long since passed when someone from Lolovoli would be obliged to pay a fine for speaking Longana language, a confusing situation is now occurring whereby words from Longana, as the dominant dialect of the area, are creeping into the speech of Lolovoli residents. I often heard parents saying to their children, 'don't speak like that, that's Longana language', although according to the history, these very words were once the words of Lolovoli. Language is commonly seen as a marker of identity and affiliation to a group, and the people of Lolovoli emphasise this, on the basis of the history of their language. They are very much aware of how language determines one's sense of identity.

Present day Lolovoli language may be a mixture of the original Lolovoli and Longana dialects, and further change is currently taking place in the language, as it is in all Vanuatu languages, with the influence of Bislama, the pidgin/creole lingua franca of Vanuatu. Taking into account the various influences, the language described here is the language of Lolovoli as it is spoken today, the language by which the people of Lolovoli identify themselves.

## 1.2 SUBGROUPING AND THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN VANUATU

According to the most recent count, there are 113 indigenous languages spoken in the island chain of Vanuatu (Tryon 1995, 1996). Considering that the population of this small island nation is approximately 170,000 (mid-1994 estimate 164,100 (David 1996)), Vanuatu is arguably the most linguistically diverse country in the world, in terms of the ratio of languages to speakers, with an average of only 1500 speakers per language.

There are two distinct languages spoken on the island of Ambae, Nduindui in the south-western corner, and North-East Ambae covering the north, east and south (see Map 4). The North-East Ambae language has one of the larger populations of speakers relative to the Vanuatu average, with approximately 5000 speakers resident in the language area (Grimes 1996). Nduindui is spoken in only two districts, whereas North-East Ambae encompasses the remainder of the island, but due to the fact that the Nduindui/Walaha area is much more

densely populated, this language is almost equal in size to North-East Ambae, with approximately 4500 speakers (Grimes 1996).

The languages of Vanuatu are all members of the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family, as shown in Figure 1.1 below (and see Pawley and Ross 1995 for a map indicating this subgrouping).

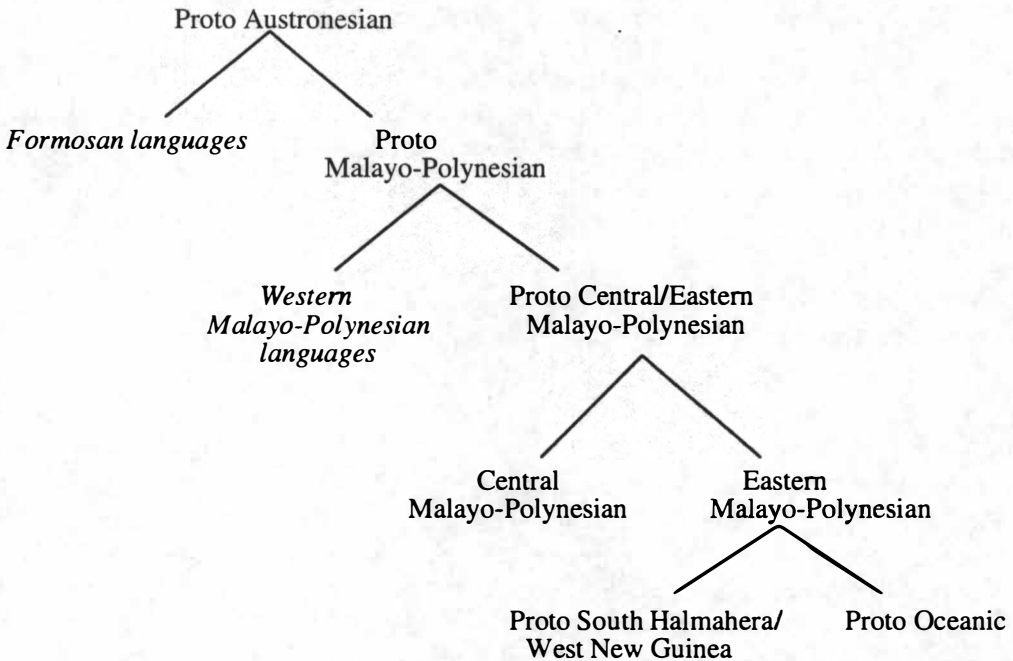


Figure 1.1 Oceanic as a subgroup of Austronesian (from Ross 1995, after Blust)

While the status of Oceanic as a subgroup of Austronesian is uncontroversial (Pawley and Ross 1993, 1995), some aspects of the subgrouping of Oceanic are problematic. One problem lies in determining whether a particular subgroup forms a 'family' or a 'linkage'. I use these terms following Ross (1988), who recognises that the formation of a group of languages which constitute a family occurs as a result of separation of two or more languages, whereas a linkage occurs as a result of dialect differentiation. If a subgroup arises as a result of separation, then the languages will share a set of innovations, and it is possible to reconstruct the protolanguage from which these languages derived. The same may not be true of a group of languages which form a linkage, as innovations would have occurred in various dialects. These innovations may have spread to other dialects, but there is no common set of innovations which define the group as a whole. Linkages are particularly common in Oceanic language groupings, as described by Ross (1995:45-46):



Divergence by *dialect differentiation* has occurred when the dialects of a language spoken in different areas of the speech community have gradually become more and more different from each other, until the differences are so great that we must speak of different languages rather than of dialects. The process of differentiation has often been accelerated by the fact that among Austronesian speakers in the past the most important unit of political organisation was typically the village, and people have tended to identify with their village rather than with other speakers of their language. Peculiarities of a village's speech have tended to become an emblem of village identity both for the speakers and their neighbours, and as a result these peculiarities have been emphasised by their speakers but shunned by their neighbours.

Oceanic is an innovation-defined subgroup (Pawley and Ross 1995), a 'family', for which the proto language can be reconstructed, but some subgroups of Oceanic constitute families, others linkages. The two languages of Ambae are members of a subgroup of Northern Vanuatu languages which form a linkage, as set out below (after Lynch, Ross and Crowley f.c.).

#### PROTO OCEANIC

Central/Eastern Oceanic linkage

Southern Oceanic linkage

Northern Vanuatu linkage

The proposed Southern Oceanic linkage includes all of the languages of Vanuatu, New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. Together with all of the languages of Polynesia, most of the languages of Micronesia, and those languages of Melanesia south of and including the South-east Solomon Islands, these languages form a putative Central/Eastern Oceanic linkage. Central/Eastern Oceanic is not a proven subgrouping, as Ross (1988) suggests that some of the innovations which Lynch and Tryon (1985) proposed as characterising this group, may in fact be features of Proto Oceanic.

The issue of the subgrouping of Vanuatu languages was first addressed in detail by Pawley (1972) and Tryon (1972). The internal relationships of the Vanuatu languages as a single entire group were investigated by Tryon (1976). According to his classification the languages of the island chain constitute a single New Hebrides<sup>1</sup> family, which could be divided into six higher order groups: a large group containing 77 languages, covering most parts of the central and northern islands, referred to as the North and Central New Hebrides group, and five smaller groups covering the south and some of the central region. Tryon's North and Central New Hebrides group included the language he referred to as North-East Aoban, Aoba being the name by which Ambae was known at the time.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Until Independence in 1980, Vanuatu was known as the New Hebrides.

<sup>2</sup> The island of Ambae has been known by various names since first European contact. It has been called Leper's Island, Opa, Oba, Omba and Aoba. It was renamed Ambae in 1981 after Independence.

Later, Lynch (1978b) established that the southern languages form a distinct subgroup, and Clark (1985) recognised that the North/Central Vanuatu (NCV) group was an innovation-linked subgroup which could be further divided into a North Vanuatu group and a Central Vanuatu group, where “[t]he major division within NCV appears to be between a northern and a central part, with the boundary running between Santo and Malekula and between Raga and the remainder of Pentecost.” (Clark 1985:221)

The boundaries of the Northern Vanuatu linkage reflect those established for the Northern Vanuatu group of NCV, but the main difference between this grouping and earlier classifications is that the Northern Vanuatu linkage is not seen as being part of a larger North/Central Vanuatu group. Southern Oceanic can be divided initially into the Northern Vanuatu linkage and the Nuclear Southern Oceanic linkage, which includes Central and Southern Vanuatu languages, as well as the languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. Southern Oceanic was proposed as a subgroup by Lynch (1995),<sup>3</sup> who suggested that the languages of Southern Vanuatu, New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands all form a subgroup, which he calls Southern Melanesian, and that the Central Vanuatu languages may in fact be more closely related to these languages, than to the Northern Vanuatu languages. He proposed that all of these subgroups together constitute the Southern Oceanic group.

### 1.2.1 THE INFLUENCE OF BISLAMA, ENGLISH AND FRENCH

Apart from the indigenous languages spoken in Vanuatu, the national language and lingua franca is an English lexifier pidgin/creole known as Bislama. This is generally the language which people from different language groups use to communicate with each other, both on the islands and in town. It is the main language used in broadcasts on Radio Vanuatu, the island peoples’ main link to current events in Vanuatu and the rest of the world.

English and French are the official languages, and are the languages of education. The nation of Vanuatu has a curious history, in that it never actually became a full-blown colony, but was jointly administered by a British-French condominium government from 1906 until Independence in 1980. While in terms of government this situation was fairly disastrous, involving a duplication of most services, at the local, rural level, the effect was that planters, missionaries and traders settled in the islands in a way that created enclaves of French and British influence.

Apart from the Catholic villages of Lolopuepue and Nangire in the north, Ambae is dominated by the Anglican church. This means that English is the main language of education in primary school and secondary school on the island. French has little influence on the languages of Ambae, but both English and, in particular, Bislama are having a

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<sup>3</sup> Geraghty (1989) originally used the label ‘Southern Oceanic’ to refer to the languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, whereas Lynch applies this label to a larger grouping, which includes the languages of Vanuatu.

considerable influence on the local languages as they are spoken today. At this stage, the main effect that the presence of Bislama and English is having on the vernacular is in terms of lexical items being replaced. On all areas of the island the vernacular is the first language of children, and the language of choice when speakers are communicating with each other. English is very rarely heard outside the school classroom, and Bislama is generally only spoken to accommodate visitors from other language areas, or perhaps when discussing national politics or other issues raised on the Bislama radio service. In different areas, church services may be held in a combination of local language, Bislama and English (or French in Catholic areas). In some areas the entire service may be carried out in Bislama, particularly in Church of Christ areas, but in Lolovoli all aspects of the service tend to be in the vernacular, except for some hymns.

Despite the fact that children generally only hear Bislama spoken on the radio, they tend to become competent in it from an early age. While few people attain a great degree of fluency in English, Bislama is known by everybody, young and old. The result is that many lexical items from Bislama are being incorporated into the language. To some extent this is simply the result of introduced 'western' items being brought into the society, such as *sosven* 'saucepan', *taragi* 'truck, car' and *deresi* 'dress', but in an increasing number of cases existing lexical items in the vernacular are being replaced. Many people are very conscious of this change (perhaps even more so since my arrival; I noted people making a particular effort to speak 'proper' language in my presence) and view it rather negatively. The more educated members of the community, such as local politicians and priests, are often seen as being the worst offenders, and are criticised for their terrible habits, and for setting a bad example for the children. The young children, of course, are in most cases not aware that the words they are using are anything but their own. When I was staying in the village of Lowainasasa in North Ambae, I addressed a young girl one morning with the familiar greeting, *ranigarea* 'good morning'. Her self assured response was, *Ngire tau Lolovoli rave 'ranigarea', gamai gave 'mone'*. 'They from Lolovoli say 'ranigarea', we say 'mone' (from English via Bislama, 'morning')'. I related this story to many people around the island, who received it with a combination of amusement and horror, determined that they would do their best to halt the increasing influence of Bislama.

### 1.3 AMBAE: THE ISLAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Ambae is formed by the cone of a dormant volcano, which peaks at 1496m in the centre of the island. The island has a relatively small area, being less than 40km in length, and approximately 15km at its widest point, and as a result the land rises steeply from the sea, and continues rising steadily to the peak of the volcano. Apart from small areas at the north-eastern and south-western ends of the island, the topology of almost the entire island consists of steep hillsides which are densely vegetated, and fall away at times into creek beds formed by ancient lava flow. Ambae receives considerable rainfall, and many of these creeks are impassable after heavy rain. Few of these creeks offer a regular water supply however, as they tend to stop flowing shortly after the rain has ceased.



As a result of this fairly inhospitable environment, areas of habitation on the island are generally restricted to those flatter north-eastern and south-western areas, and a narrow coastal strip rounding the island. In only a few areas are there villages located more than 2km inland of the coast. Most of the rugged interior of the island is not only uninhabited, but it is also not used for planting gardens, and in fact, most people rarely venture far inland, there being few who have travelled the difficult path to the top of the volcano. Those who have been report how different the area is to the inhabited areas, with differences in types of vegetation and bird life. The people plant their crops of taro, banana, sweet potato, yam and manioc in steep hillside gardens, either close to the sea or slightly further inland than their villages.

The basic residence unit on Ambae is not a large village, but a hamlet, which may consist of only one household, or of several households which are all part of the one extended family. The sons of the household patriarch may bring their wives to the hamlet and build their own sleeping house and kitchen, thus creating a new household within the hamlet. The hamlet in which I stayed most of the time is a one family hamlet, occupied by a man and his wife, their children, and an old unmarried uncle. This hamlet is ten minutes walk from the closest hamlet, but often hamlets are grouped together and form a larger village. The centre of these villages in modern Ambae society is the church.

While people identify themselves as being from Ambae when interacting with people from other islands, to other people from the island they identify themselves according to which district they are from. An area is seen as forming a district on the basis of shared history, culture and language. There is no traditional name for the North-East Ambae language as a whole; people refer to their language by the name of the district, distinguishing it from the language spoken in other districts. Thus the language of the Lolovoli district is known as *leo tau Lolovoli* 'language of Lolovoli', both by those who speak it and by people from other districts.

The area in which North-East Ambae is spoken has a matrilineal system of descent. There are two matrimoieties, *Tagaro* and *Mwerabuto*, so that each child born enters the same moiety as the one her or his mother belongs to. Moiety membership determines who one is allowed to marry, as traditional law states that one's spouse must come from the opposite moiety. While people still stress today that one should not marry someone from the same moiety, I was told many times of people who had married within their own moiety. Marriage was originally endogamous within each district, but marriage between districts is much more common today.

Ambae has what is known as a 'graded society', in which status is attained by the ceremonial killing of pigs, in particular tusked boars. Men, women and children alike must take part in pig-killing ceremonies in order to be recognised as members of the society. There is a hierarchical structure consisting of a number of ranks, such that a greater number of pigs, at various stages of development, are required to be killed in order to move up to the next rank and gain greater prestige. An individual requires a certain amount of support

from other members of the society in order to be able to take a new rank, as described by W. Rodman (1996:162):

Tusked boars represent social, political and economic capital for individuals engaged in graded-society activities. Alliance and sponsorship are ideas central to rank-taking. To achieve a new rank, a person cannot simply raise a herd of pigs and then slaughter them; in fact, on east Ambae, there is a rule that an individual may not kill more than three of his own pigs at a rank-taking. The other seven pigs to be used in a rank-taking ceremony must come from other people. At ceremonies, donors present pigs to a rank-taker, and these pigs are always new loans or repayments of prior loans. A presentation is a symbolic political statement, a message to all about relations of respect and alliance between the donor and recipient. So there is a sense in which bestowals of pigs are like votes of support in a political campaign.

## 1.4 PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN VANUATU

### 1.4.1 LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN VANUATU

The earliest descriptions of Vanuatu languages were published in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the result of work by missionaries. There are four significant early works, which are collections of brief grammatical sketches of many of the languages of Vanuatu and other parts of Melanesia. These are:

- Von der Gabelentz, H.C. (1861-73) *Die Melanesischen sprachen nach ihrem grammatischen Bau und ihrer verwandschaft unter sich und mit den Malaiisch-Polynesischen sprachen* (mainly based on data collected by the missionary Bishop Patteson);
- Codrington, R.H. (1885) *The Melanesian languages*;
- Macdonald, D.R. (1891) *South Sea Languages: a series of studies on the languages of the New Hebrides and other South Sea islands*; and
- Ray, Sidney Herbert (1926) *A comparative study of the Melanesian island languages*.

Later, Ivens published sketch grammars of three Northern Vanuatu languages, including the Lombaha dialect of North-East Ambae. The languages he described were Lamalanga (Raga) of North Pentecost (1937-39), Lobaha of North Ambae (1940-42), and Lotora (Marino) of North Maewo (1940-42).

John Lynch, in his *An annotated bibliography of Vanuatu languages* (1994), lists only seven languages (he recognises approximately 105 distinct languages of Vanuatu, slightly less than Tryon's (1996) 113) which he considers are 'reasonably well-described', and only three as 'well-known and well-described', one of which is Bislama. The other two languages are Lenakel, one of the languages of Tanna, for which Lynch has written a grammar (1978a), dictionary (1977) and other works (e.g. 1975), and Paamese, the language of Paama, which has likewise been described in detail by Terry Crowley (e.g.

1982, 1992). These are two scholars who have done a considerable amount of research on the languages of Vanuatu, Crowley also having published a detailed dictionary of Bislama (1995), and Lynch having documented in particular the Southern Vanuatu languages, establishing their status as a subgroup (e.g. 1978b, 1995, 1996).

In recent years, a number of fairly detailed grammatical descriptions of Vanuatu languages have been written. Lynch's grammar of Lenakel, one of the languages of Tanna (1978) is the only detailed description of a Southern Vanuatu language. A few more grammars of Central Vanuatu languages have been published, including Crowley's description of the language of Paama (1982), and Fox's description of the Big Nambas language of northern Malakula (1979). Also, grammars have been written as PhD dissertations for Namakir, spoken in the Shepherd Islands (Sperlich 1994), and Lewo, spoken on the island of Epi (Early 1994). Little has been written on the languages which are members of the Northern Vanuatu linkage. Guy has published a description of Sakao, a language of Santo (1974), and descriptions have been written of two languages, Raga (Walsh 1966) and Tamambo (Jauncey 1997), which are very closely related to the Ambae languages, being spoken on neighbouring islands. In particular I refer the reader to Dorothy Jauncey's recent PhD dissertation, a detailed grammar of Tamambo, the language of Malo, for comparison with Ambae language.

#### 1.4.2 LINGUISTIC RESEARCH ON AMBAE

As was commonly the case in Oceania, the first documentation of the Ambae languages was by missionaries. Codrington (1885) includes a 12 page sketch of the northern Walurigi dialect, and Ivens (1940-42) has published a 19 page sketch of the dialect spoken at Lombaha, also in north Ambae. Neither of these authors visited the island, Codrington's sketch is based on data collected from speakers attending the Melanesian Mission school on Norfolk Island, and Ivens sketch was written using religious texts translated into the Lombaha dialect by missionaries. Apart from these brief descriptions, there has been little documentation of either of the languages of Ambae. The current study represents the first detailed linguistic analysis of the language.

Ray (1926) does not include a grammatical description of the language, as it was covered by Codrington (1885), but he does discuss some dialect differences, and he states that he has also published word lists in the Walurigi dialect.

Tattevin, a Catholic missionary, collected a fairly extensive word list in the Lolopuepue dialect of North Ambae. This has not been published, but is available on microfilm as *Vocabulaire Oba* (1953). Another Catholic missionary, Père Jean-Baptiste Suas collected a number of creation myths, and published these with French translations as *Mythes et légendes des indigènes des Nouvelles-Hébrides (Océanie)* (1912).

The early missionaries also translated a number of Christian texts, including the Book of Common Prayer, hymns and selections from the New Testament. The Bible Society in the South Pacific is currently working on a translation of the New Testament in the dialect of Lombaha. The translation has been carried out by a local priest and another man from the village of Lowainasasa, and the Gospels have already been published as *A Roro Garea noi Jisas Kraes* ('The Good News of Jesus Christ') (1986).

#### 1.4.3 ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

While little linguistic research has been carried out on Ambae, there is a significant amount of ethnographic information available, due to the research of a number of anthropologists. Brief references to aspects of Ambae culture can be found in early ethnographic works from late last century and early this century (e.g. Codrington 1891, Speiser 1923), but it is not until recent years that detailed studies have been made exclusively on Ambae. Michael Allen was the first anthropologist to work on the island, mainly in the western part, resulting in his (1964b) doctoral thesis, *The Nduindui: a study in the social structure of a New Hebridean Society*. His research focussed on the way in which society is organised on Ambae, on the system of grade-taking, where men can achieve rank by the ceremonial killing of pigs. He has also written about the type of kinship system found in East Ambae and how it compares with the system which operates in the Banks Islands, north of Ambae (1964a).

In the late 1960s, two Canadian anthropologists, William and Margaret Rodman were based in the Longana district in East Ambae. William Rodman also focussed on describing the graded society for his 1973 doctoral thesis, *Men of influence, men of rank: leadership and graded society on Aoba, New Hebrides*.

Margaret Rodman has published the only monograph concerned solely with Ambae culture, entitled *Masters of Tradition: consequences of customary land tenure in Longana, Vanuatu* (1987). This work mainly deals with the system of traditional land tenure which exists on the island, and how this has been affected by a current emphasis on the production of copra from coconuts as a source of income. Further works by both Margaret and William Rodman have mainly looked at the ways in which traditional practices have changed in Ambae.

Peter Lovell, a student of William Rodman's, also chose Longana as the district on which he would base his description of the East Ambae kinship system, *Children of blood, children of shame: creation and procreation in Longana, East Aoba, New Hebrides* (1980).

The most recent doctoral thesis to arise from research on Ambae is Lissant Bolton's *Dancing in mats: extending kastom to women in Vanuatu* (1993). She studied the woven pandanus mats which are an integral part of Ambae society in terms of their ceremonial function. Through her research she has also assisted in setting up the Women's Culture

Project, in which four Ambae women are involved. This project aims to involve Ni-Vanuatu<sup>4</sup> women in documenting traditional culture. I worked with two of these women while carrying out my research (§1.6).

Peter Crowe has investigated music practices in Vanuatu, documenting the various slit-gong types and drumming styles found throughout the islands, including Ambae (1974). His observations on the division between the areas in which horizontal, vertical and angled slit-gongs are used, corroborate the linguistic evidence which suggests that there is both a cultural and linguistic division between North and Central Vanuatu, with horizontal slit-gongs being used in the north, vertical ones in Central Vanuatu, with a transitional area in which angled drums occur (Clark 1985). Other cultural markers which can be seen to reflect this north/central division, as noted by Tryon (1996), are that in Central and Southern Vanuatu, men traditionally wear *nambas* (penis wrappers), whereas in northern areas, woven pandanus mats are worn, both by men, in the style of loincloths, and by women, as wraparound skirts and tops. Also, “[t]o the north of the Santo-Malakula line, the graded society (*sukwe*) is matrilineal, while to the south that society (*manggi*) is patrilineal” (Tryon 1996:172).

## 1.5 DIALECT VARIATION

Tryon, in his 1976 classification of New Hebrides languages, stated that the North-East Ambae language may be composed of “as many as 15 dialects” (p.89). He collected word lists from four areas on Ambae, one from Ngwatua from the Nduindui language of West Ambae, and three from what he referred to as ‘North-East Aoban’; from Wailengi (East Ambae, what I refer to as Longana dialect), Lolomatui (North Ambae, I am unsure which dialect area this is in), and Lolosiwoi (Redcliff, South Ambae, what I refer to as Lolokaro dialect).

While I have not carried out a comprehensive dialect survey, I have collected word lists and texts from most areas of the island, covering districts from the most southern area of Redcliff, through to Nangire in the north, but not including Vuinikalato, which is fairly difficult to access. Word lists have been collected from speakers in six different places: Matanwado in the southern Redcliff district (Lolokaro dialect); Sagau, in the district directly south of Lolovoli (Sagau dialect); Lovusi in Lolovoli; Lolomanganda in the north-eastern district of Lolovinue (Lolovinue dialect); Lolovake in Lombaha (Lombaha dialect); and Nangire, north of the Vuinikalato district (Nangire dialect). The word list used was taken from Tryon (1976), and contained 309 items. Short texts have also been collected in each of these villages, and in a number of other areas, including: Lovuinimaqetoli (Walurigi dialect), Vuiberu (Lombaha dialect), and Lowainasasa (Lombaha dialect). Several texts have been collected from speakers of the Longana, Lolovoli and Vuinikalato dialects who are now resident in Lolovoli or in either of the towns of Santo or Port Vila.

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4 The people of Vanuatu are called Ni-Vanuatu, not Vanuatans.

Based on this material I distinguish at least 11 regional dialects, as shown on Map 4. Starting from the south, moving through the east, and round to the northern part of the island, the dialects are: Lolokaro, Sagau, Lolovoli, Longana, Lolovinue, Lolopuepue, Ambangga, Lombaha, Walurigi, Nangire and Vuinikalato.

While word lists give an indication of some phonological and lexical differences, there are other differences which the speakers consider to be significant indicators, particularly differences in *tiun*. This word has been borrowed into the language from Bislama, to refer to intonation differences. The placement of the dialect boundaries which I have set up is based on statements from the speakers themselves. I questioned speakers from most areas of the island, and generally they were able to state without hesitation where they believed their dialect ended and another began. The responses were very consistent between speakers, and my impressions confirmed what they said. However, it is important to note that dialect differences which are emblematic for speakers may form only a subset of linguistically recognisable differences.

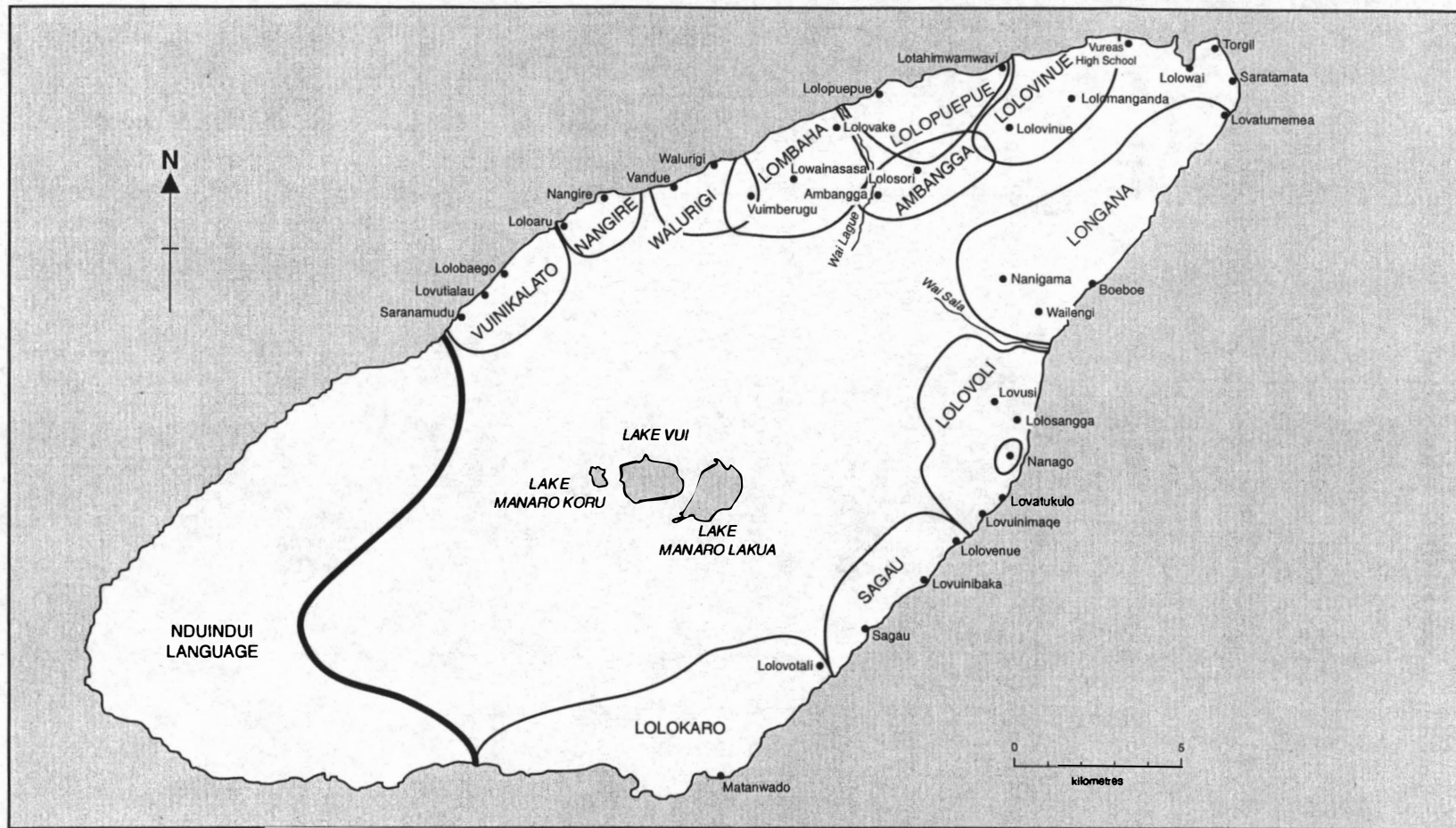
Dialect boundaries generally correspond to district boundaries distinguishing local areas inhabited by extended family groups, and these boundaries are often formed by significant geographical divides. As already noted in the introduction, the boundary between Lolovoli and Longana is formed by Wai Sala, a sizeable creek which is impassable after heavy rain. The boundaries between several other dialect areas are also formed by large creeks; Wai Lague divides the districts of Lolovinue and Lombaha, and Wai Kwae divides the edge of the Nangire district from Vuinikalato, where the topography changes suddenly, becoming very steep, with villages perched up high on the cliffs. Longana is separated from Lolovinue and Ambangga by a mountainous ridge, separating the north coast from the east. Other boundaries are also fairly defined, even if simply by a break in the area in which villages are located.

While I distinguish 11 regional dialects, it is possible that some of the areas represent more than one dialect. Although I did not visit the area of Vuinikalato, it clearly forms a distinct dialect from Nangire, and some believe that it may constitute two separate dialects. I have spoken with many people from Vuinikalato outside the area, particularly those living in Santo, and it is clear to me that it represents a distinct dialect, but as I have not visited the area and recorded any data from there, I am not sure of the extent of the variation within the area.

I have Lombaha marked as a single dialect, but note on Map 4 the overlap I have indicated with the Walurigi dialect. It is possible that the area of overlap constitutes a separate dialect, as some features of both dialects are present in this area. Some residents of the Lombaha district believe that the area represents as many as three distinct dialects.

Also in the north, the Ambangga dialect shares some features with the Lolovinue dialect and some of the Lolopuepue dialect. I have indicated it as a separate dialect on the basis of speakers' opinions, but as I have collected no data in this area I can not be sure of its status.





Map 4: Ambae Island, indicating the dialects of the North-East Ambae language, and the division between North-East Ambae and Nduindui

Note that I do not indicate a dialect boundary for the extreme north-eastern tip of the island. Previously the language spoken in this area may have formed a distinct dialect or been part of either of the Lolovineu or Longana dialects, but now it is not possible to tell, as there are many speakers from different places now living within this area, including people from other islands. Outsiders have been settling in this area since the Melanesian Mission set up their headquarters at Lolowai. Now, Lolowai forms the closest thing to a town on the island, with not only a bank, post office and stores, but also the island's hospital, and nearby are: Vureas High School, the Penama province headquarters (representing the islands of Pentecost, Ambae and Maewo) at Saratamata, a technical school called Torgil Training Centre, and a school for Christian Brothers. People from many areas of Vanuatu come to stay in this area, with the result that Bislama is commonly spoken, and when local language is spoken it is a mixture of different dialects.

The Longana and Lolovoli dialects are very similar, but perhaps they were once more different than they are today. Apart from the language exchange which took place between the two areas that I have mentioned, Longana dialect currently has considerable influence on its neighbouring dialects. I would say that Longana language is becoming more of a standard dialect because it is more of a central area, which people from all areas of North east Ambae pass through to go to the airport, Lolowai harbour, and the Saratamata provincial government headquarters. Most intra-island events are held in this area.

The main features which I recognise as indicating a dialect difference are phonological, but I have also observed lexical and semantic variation, and a few small differences in morphology and syntax. Each of these types of variation is addressed below.

### 1.5.1 PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

#### 1.5.1.1 REGULAR SOUND SHIFTS

The most significant indicators of dialect difference in Ambae are phonological. The main differences are summarised in Table 2.1 and discussed below. The starred forms in the table represent Proto Oceanic consonant phonemes, with their reflexes in the various dialects of North-East Ambae indicated. Also shown are dialectal differences in the realisation of word final vowels.



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	*s	*t	*k	*g	*b <sup>w</sup>	V#	CVNV#
Lolokaro	s	t	k	ŋg	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	Ø	CVN#
Sagau	h	t, s/_i	k	ŋg	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	Ø	CVN#
Lolovoli	h	t, s/_i	k	ŋg	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	Ø	CVN#
Longana	h	t, s/_i	k	ŋg	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	Ø	CVN#
Lolovinue	h	t, s/_i	ɣ	k	k <sup>w</sup>	V	CVNV#
Lolopuepue	h	t, s/_i	k, ŋk	ɣ, x, k	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	V	CVNV#
Ambangga	h	t, s/_i	ɣ	k	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	V	CVNV#
Lombaha	h	t, s/_i	k, x	ŋg	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	V	CVNV#
Walurigi	h	t, s/_i	k, x	ŋg	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	V	C̄v
Nangire	h	t, s/_i	k	ŋg	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	V	CVNV#
Vuinikalato	h	t, s/_i	k	ŋg	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	V	CVNV#

Table 2.1 Phonological variation

Table 1.1. Column 1.

The most southern dialect, Lolokaro, has one less consonant phoneme than the rest, as a result of a change which has taken place in all other dialects. Proto Oceanic is reconstructed as having the phonemes \*s, \*c, and \*j, where \*c and \*j represent respectively voiceless and prenasalised voiced palatal stops. These three phonemes had merged by pre-Ambae times<sup>5</sup>, such that 'proto-Ambae' had a single phoneme \*s which is reflected as [s] in the Lolokaro dialect, but which has changed to [h] in all the other dialects. Evidence for this change is shown in Table 2.2, which shows some Proto Oceanic reconstructions and their reflexes in both the Lolokaro and Lolovoli dialects. While there are slight variations in the lexical forms in other dialects, they still reflect the sound change \*s → h. Note that while this change was basically regular, there are a number of forms which retain the /s/, such as *sama* 'outrigger', and *siwo* 'nine'. Some of these retentions reflect Proto Oceanic \*s, others \*j, as *koso* 'to husk a coconut', from Proto Oceanic \**kojom*.

<sup>5</sup> We can be almost certain that the merger took place in the ancestor of all Vanuatu languages, but for the purposes of the argument here it is only necessary to state that the merger took place at an earlier stage than 'proto-Ambae'.

Proto Oceanic	Lolokaro	Lolovoli	English
*banic	banisi	banihi	'wing'
*jalan	sala	hala	'path, way'
*jujun	susuni	susuni	'push'
*kojom	koso	koso	'husk a coconut'
*qaco	aso	aho	'sun'
*qusan	use	uhe	'rain'
*sake	sake	hake	'up above, go up'
*saman	sama	sama	'outrigger float'
*saŋapulu	saŋaβulu	haŋaβulu	'ten'
*sapa	saβa	haβa	'which?'
*siku	suku	huku	'elbow'
*sipo	siβo	hiβo	'down below, go down'
*siwa	siok	siwo	'nine'
*suri	sui	hui	'bone'
*susu	susu	huhu	'breast'
*tasik	tasi	tahi	'sea'

Table 2.2 Proto Oceanic \*s → h in all dialects except Lolokaro

Corroborating evidence for the change \*s → h comes from songs that occur in traditional stories, which the speakers say are in the *leo tau tuei* 'language from before'. A number of words in these songs exhibit [s] in words which contain the reflex [h] in the modern Lolovoli language. For example, the word *sava* 'which?', reconstructed as \**sapa* in Proto Oceanic, occurs in a song (1), whereas the word for 'which?' in modern Lolovoli language is *hava*. The word *susu* for 'breast', the same form which has been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic, occurs in the song in (2), but this is reflected in modern Lolovoli as *huhu*.

- 1) E bule-ku sava ige? Ige guweu.  
 eh CL.NAT-1SGP which fish fish small  
*Eh, my what kind of fish? A small fish.*

(JW012)

- 2) Ga-mu susu, ga-mu susu, we=mwaso?  
 CL.FOOD-2SGP breast CL.FOOD-2SGP breast 2SGS=alive  
*A breast for you to feed, a breast for you to feed, are you alive?*

(JTT039)

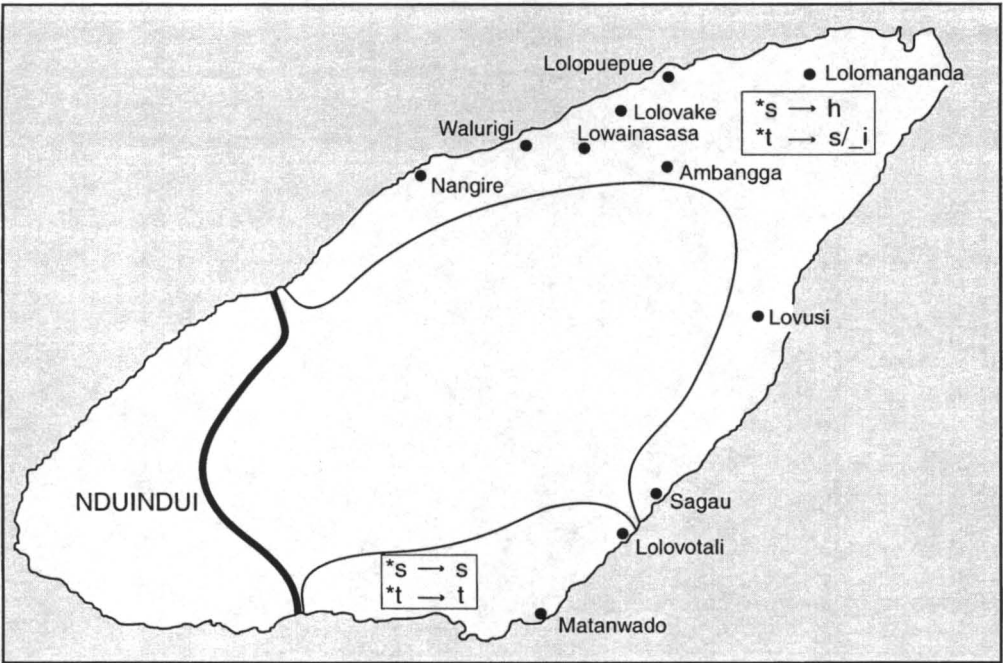
Table 1.1. Column 2.

Proto Oceanic \*t has undergone spirantisation, becoming [s] before the high front vowel /i/, in all dialects except Lolokaro. Examples in Table 2.3 show the environments in which spirantisation has occurred, with Lolokaro and Lolovoli reflexes of a number of reconstructed Proto Oceanic forms.

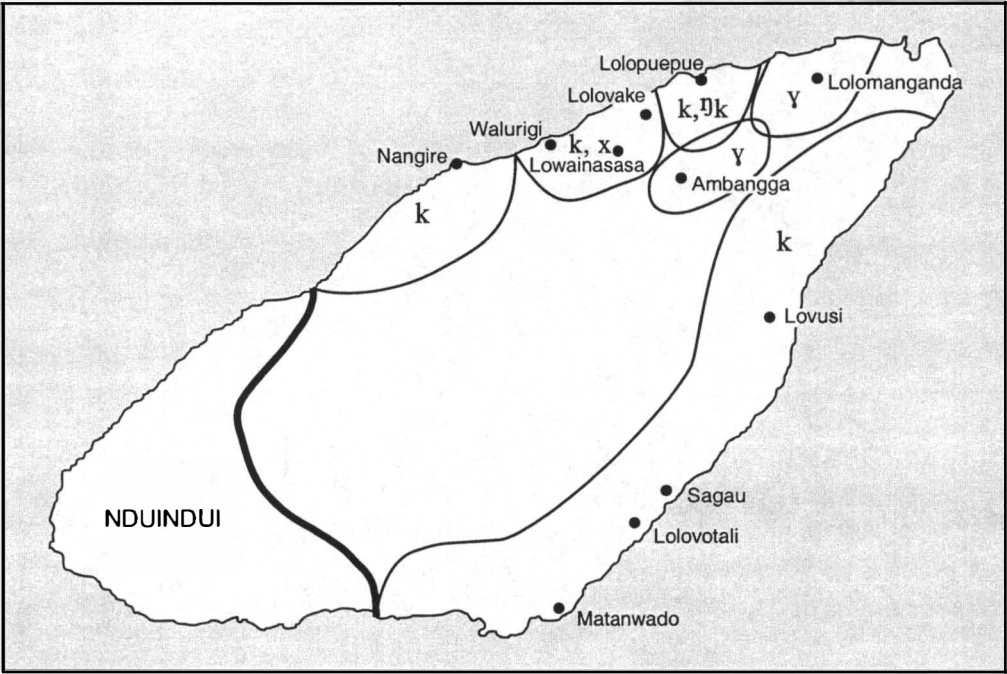
Proto Oceanic	Lolokaro	Lolovoli	English
*pati	βeti	βesi	‘four’
*pitiqun	βitiu	βisiu	‘star’
	βuluβuluti	βuluβulusi	‘body hair’
	βut(i)	βusi	‘hill’
*kati	kati	kasi	‘to bite’
*tibo-	tibo-	sibo-	‘self’
	tig <sup>w</sup> e	sig <sup>w</sup> e	‘shoulder’
	weti	wesi	‘to tie’
*kutu	kutu	kutu	‘louse’
*mata	mata	mata	‘eye’
*patu	βatu	βatu	‘stone’
*qatolur	toli	toli	‘egg’
*taqe	tai	tai	‘faeces’
*tasik	tasi	tahi	‘sea’
*tolu	talū	tolu	‘three’

Table 2.3 Proto Oceanic \*t → s/\_i in all dialects except Lolokaro

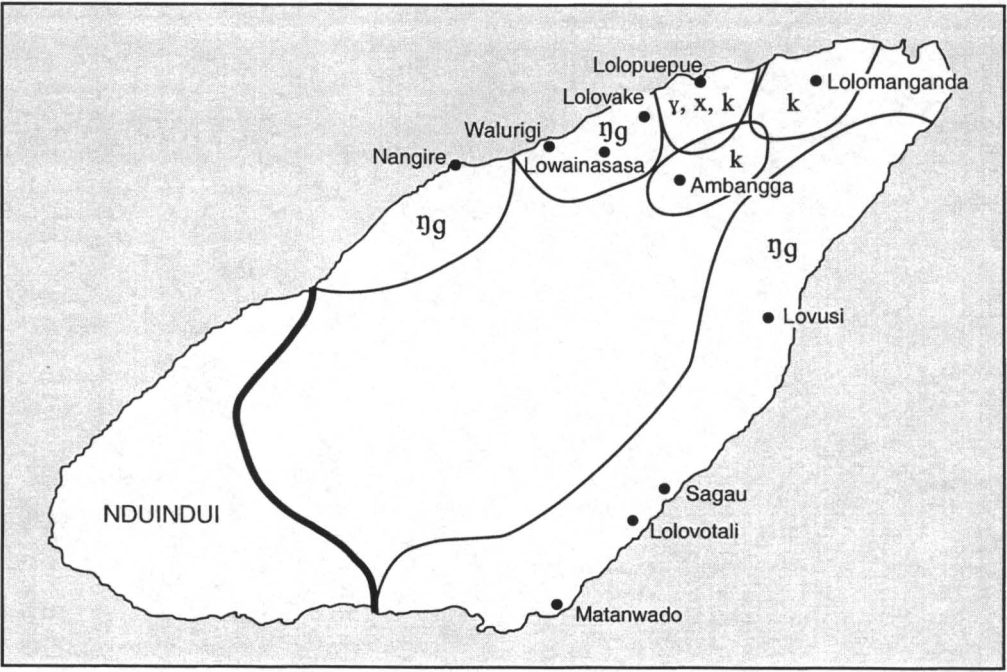
The isoglosses for the changes \*s → h and \*t → s/\_i are both represented in Map 5.



Map 5: Proto Oceanic \*s → h, \*t → s/\_i in all dialects except Lolokaro



Map 6: Variation in the realisation of the phoneme /k/



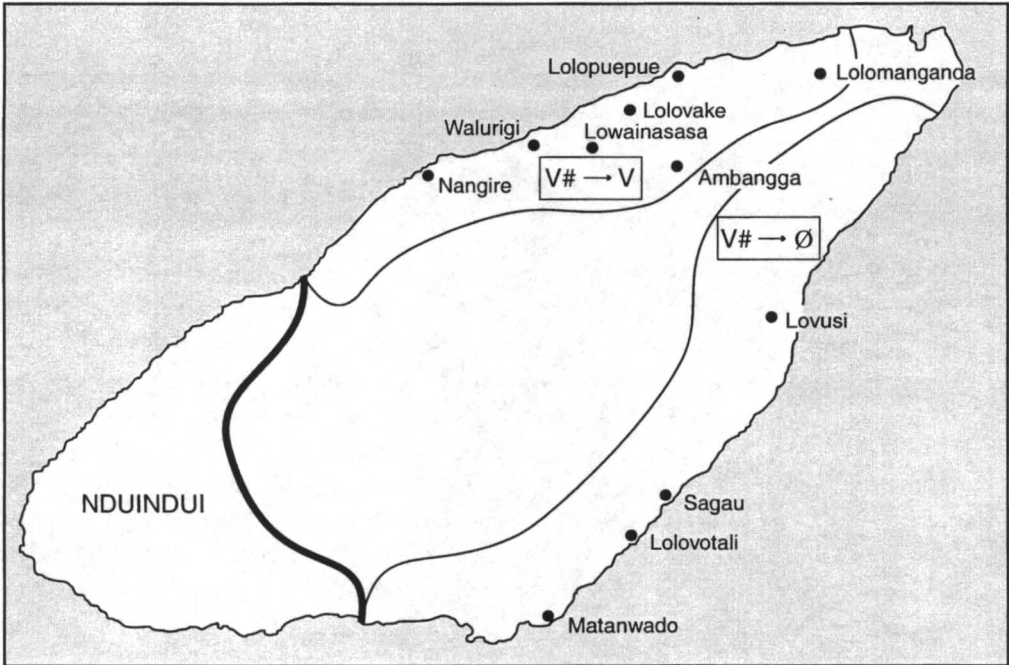
Map 7: Variation in the realisation of the phoneme /g/

Table 1.1. Column 3, 4 and 5.

Proto Oceanic is reconstructed with voiceless and prenasalised voiced velar stops, \*k and \*g, which are reflected as such in many dialects of North-East Ambae, including Lolovoli. There was also a labialised prenasalised voiced bilabial stop, \*bʷ, which is reflected as a labialised prenasalised voiced velar stop [ŋgʷ] in Lolovoli. These three phonemes have various phonetic realisations in the different dialects. The south-eastern dialects consistently reflect them as [k], [ŋg] and [ŋgʷ], but there is variation in the northern dialects. This variation is shown in Table 1.1. In some dialects \*k has lenited to a fricative [ɣ] or [x], and in the dialect spoken in Lolovinuē, \*k has lenited to [ɣ], \*g to [k], and the labialised form has retained its labialisation, but lost its prenasalisation and voicing. The isoglosses for the phonemes /k/ and /g/ are illustrated in Maps 6 and 7 respectively.

Table 1.1. Column 6.

There is a rule in the Lolovoli dialect whereby word final vowels are not pronounced in certain environments in normal speech (§2.6.4). This is one of the most important isoglosses as shown in Map 8; all dialects spoken on the north-west face of the island retain the final vowels, whereas dialects on the south-east side do not.



Map 8: Realisation of final vowels in northern versus southern dialects

Table 1.1. Column 7.

In the Walurigi dialect, nasalisation of vowels occurs. Forms which in most dialects consist of a final syllable comprising a nasal and vowel, occur in the Walurigi dialect without this syllable, but retain the feature of nasalisation on the vowel which originally preceded the nasal. Some examples of this, with comparisons to the Lolovoli dialect, are shown in Table 2.4. This phenomenon is restricted to the Walurigi dialect, and the western boundaries of the Lombaha dialect.

Lolovoli	Walurigi	English
m̥beno	m̥bē	‘already’
here-na	herē	‘her/his chair, bed’
inu	ī	‘drink’
marama	marā	‘be light (of moon)’
taŋg <sup>w</sup> ar̥ji-ne	taŋg <sup>w</sup> ar̥jī	‘her/his belly’

Table 2.4 Nasalisation of vowels in Walurigi

Some other phonological differences are more impressionistic. The people from Lombaha say that the people of Lolovoli *teve na leo* ‘cut the language’, while Lolovoli speakers think that Lombaha speakers’ language is *qaravu* ‘long’. This is not simply a difference in the deletion of final vowels; vowels in some of the northern dialects are longer than in other dialects, and there are differences in intonation patterns. Speakers also comment that an important difference is that speakers of some dialects speak faster or slower than others. For example the Vuinikalato and Nangire dialects are seen as being very similar, with the major difference being that the Nangire speakers speak faster than people from Vuinikalato.

1.5.1.2 VARIATION IN PHONOLOGICAL SHAPE

One of the dialect differences which is most commented on by speakers of the language is one of variation in the phonological shape of specific lexical items. There are several fairly commonly occurring words in Ambae which are cognate, having the same basic form in the different dialects but which are pronounced slightly differently, as shown in Table 2.5. In this table I include forms from those dialects for which I collected the same 309 word list, and from the Longana dialect, as it is these differences which are mostly seen as distinguishing the Longana and Lolovoli dialects. In some cases the differences reflect a regular difference between the dialects, such as Lolokaro /s/ in the place of /h/ in other dialects in the word for ‘what’, but in other examples the difference does not reflect a phonemic difference, but is simply idiosyncratic variation.

English	Lolokaro	Lolovoli	Longana	Lolovinue	Lombaha	Nangire
'big'	<i>lagwo</i>	<i>lague</i>	<i>luwou</i>	<i>lagua</i>	<i>lawua</i>	<i>lagua</i>
'come'	<i>vanai</i>	<i>vanai</i>	<i>(vo)mai</i>	<i>vumai</i>	<i>vumai</i>	<i>vanai</i>
'no'	<i>sate</i>	<i>hate</i>	<i>hate</i>	<i>hatie</i>	<i>hatie</i>	<i>hate</i>
'one'	<i>gatwale</i>	<i>gatawale</i>	<i>gatigale</i>	<i>gategale</i>	<i>gategale</i>	<i>gatawale</i>
'what'	<i>savagi</i>	<i>havai</i>	<i>havena</i>	<i>havaihi</i>	<i>havai</i>	<i>havagi</i>

Table 2.5 Pronunciation variation

## 1.5.2 LEXICAL AND SEMANTIC VARIATION

There is not a great deal of lexical variation between the different dialects. Some of the different forms which occurred in a 309 word list are listed in Table 2.6. The data which I collected at a dictionary workshop in Lombaha, when compared with the lexicon I have collected in Lolovoli, show that there is much more variation in non-basic vocabulary than in the basic vocabulary which occurs in my 309 word lists.

English	Lolokaro	Sagau	Lolovoli	Lolovinue	Lombaha	Nangire
'bark'	<i>uolo</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>bato</i>	<i>bato</i>	<i>bato</i>	<i>ulo</i>
'fly'	<i>rovo</i>	<i>rovo</i>	<i>olo</i>	<i>olo</i>	<i>olo</i>	<i>rovo</i>
'how'	<i>gasagi</i>	<i>warahigi</i>	<i>mwerehi- logo</i>	<i>vahavagi</i>	<i>wuraha</i>	<i>vahanie</i>
'kidney'	<i>varamage-</i>	<i>varamage-</i>	<i>angai-</i>	<i>ngai-</i>	<i>ngai-</i>	<i>varamage-</i>
'mosquito'	<i>namo</i>	<i>namo</i>	<i>lalakasi</i>	<i>lagagasi</i>	<i>namo</i>	<i>namo</i>
'road'	<i>sala</i>	<i>hala</i>	<i>turegi</i>	<i>turegi</i>	<i>turegi</i>	<i>hala</i>
'say'	<i>viti</i>	<i>veve</i>	<i>veve</i>	<i>veve</i>	<i>veve</i>	<i>veve</i>
'snake'	<i>mwata</i>	<i>mwata</i>	<i>teletele</i>	<i>mwata</i>	<i>mwata</i>	<i>mwata</i>
'uncle' MB	<i>toga-</i>	<i>tagarue-</i>	<i>toga-</i>	<i>tagarue-</i>	<i>tagarue-</i>	<i>toga-</i>
'wet'	<i>mimieg</i>	<i>memige</i>	<i>bibilu</i>	<i>bibilu</i>	<i>bibilu</i>	<i>qiqi</i>
'wife'	<i>rantu-</i>	<i>hora-</i>	<i>tubui lo vale-</i>	<i>hora-</i>	<i>gahara-</i>	<i>hora-</i>
'work'	<i>bologi</i>	<i>tabana</i>	<i>tabana</i>	<i>tabana</i>	<i>tabana</i>	<i>kea</i>

Table 2.6 Lexical variation

Note from the phonological and lexical evidence given, that Lolovoli seems to be the least conservative dialect. Table 2.6 shows that, in a number of cases where a different form is found in Lolovoli, the form present in other dialects reflects a form which has been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic, whereas the Lolovoli forms are innovations. In Table 2.7 I compare four forms reconstructed for Proto Oceanic with the forms present in the Lolokaro and Lolovoli dialects.



English	Proto Oceanic	Lolokaro	Lolovoli
'fly'	* <i>ɾopok</i>	<i>rovo</i>	<i>olo</i>
'mosquito'	* <i>ñamək</i>	<i>namo</i>	<i>lalakasi</i>
'road'	* <i>jalan</i>	<i>sala</i>	<i>turegi</i>
'snake'	* <i>mwata</i>	<i>mwata</i>	<i>teletele</i>

Table 2.7 Lexical innovations in Lolovoli

It can be observed that the same word may occur in different dialects, but with a difference in semantic range. In Table 2.8 I note some words which vary in meaning between Lolovoli and other dialects. In these cases, where two words occur in the Lolovoli dialect with related yet different meanings, in some of the other dialects only one of the forms is found. This form covers both of the meanings which in Lolovoli are distinguished by different lexical items.

	Lolovoli	other dialects
<i>tangi</i>	'cry for dead person, or someone you don't believe you'll see again'	'cry' (Lolokaro, Sagau, Nangire)
<i>ngara</i>	'cry'	Ø
<i>gesaga</i>	'blue'	'blue, green' (Vuinikalato, Sagau)
<i>qaroqaroga</i>	'green'	Ø
<i>dilo</i>	'voice'	'voice, throat' (Vuinikalato, Sagau, Nangire)
<i>mwagoro</i>	'throat'	Ø
<i>nunu</i>	'image, photo, shadow'	'image, photo, shadow, rainbow' (Lolokaro, Sagau, Nangire)
<i>himwehimwe</i>	'rainbow'	Ø
<i>luqe</i>	'wrap' (v.t.)	'clothes, wrap' (Sagau, Lombaha)
<i>gavu</i>	'clothes'	Ø

Table 2.8 Semantic variation

1.5.3 MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC VARIATION

In North-East Ambae subjects are marked in the verb phrase by proclitics (§9). There is some variation in the form of these proclitics between dialects, which although slight, is a significant indicator of dialect variation, considering that they obligatorily occur in the verb phrase. These variations occur in the first person singular, and in other non singular forms, as shown in Table 2.9. I have noted here the forms found in Lolovoli and Longana. Some of the northern dialects also contain the Longana forms, but I am not sure of the extent of variation.



	Lolovoli	Longana
1SGS	<i>na=</i> , <i>no=</i> (unmarked, realis), <i>nu</i> (telic)	<i>na=</i>
1NSG.EXS=DL	<i>ga=ru</i>	<i>go=ru</i>
1NSG.INS=DL	<i>da=ru</i>	<i>do=ru</i>
3NSGS=DL	<i>ra=ru</i>	<i>ru</i>
3NSGS	<i>ra=</i>	<i>ra=</i> , <i>ro=</i> (realis)

Table 2.9 Variation in form of subject proclitics

There is a coordinating conjunction *ko* ‘and’ which only occurs in the Lombaha dialect. This conjunction functions to coordinate phrases and clauses, which in other dialects would simply be coordinated by juxtaposition (§15.2.5). The nominative article *a*, which is fairly redundant, as grammatical relations are obligatorily marked both by constituent order and indexing in the verb phrase (§3.5), rarely occurs in the Lolovoli dialect, but is still consistently used in the Lombaha (and Ambangga) dialects, and perhaps also in other northern dialects, although my data are insufficient to be sure of this.

#### 1.5.4 SOCIOLECTS

It is interesting to note a minor sociolectal difference which occurs in the Lolovoli dialect. This difference may also occur in other dialects, but I am not familiar enough with them to know. As noted in §1.3, descent is matrilineal on Ambae, individuals belong either to the *Tagaro* moiety or the *Mwerabuto* moiety. When I first started transcribing texts in the language, and was having particular trouble transcribing the speech of one speaker, who seemed to be speaking amazingly fast, Roselyn, my language helper, said to me, ‘that’s because she’s a *Mwerabuto*, and they speak much faster than us *Tagaros*. We speak much more clearly.’ When I was familiar enough with the language to be able to judge for myself, my impressions confirmed what Roselyn said, and others also told me that the two moieties had different speech styles. Whenever I noted a speaker who spoke particularly rapidly, and asked which matrimoiety she or he belonged to, the answer was generally *Mwerabuto*.

#### 1.6 TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NORTH-EAST AMBAE

Many of the notable typological features of the North-East Ambae language (hereafter referred to in this work as Ambae) are those which are considered to be distinguishing features of the languages of the Oceanic subgroup as a whole (see Lynch, Ross and Crowley f.c.). Ambae is a very conservative language, retaining many of the features which have been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic. Below I state the main typological features of the language, and note in which section of the book each topic is discussed.

- Typical phonological characteristics of Oceanic languages which are present in Ambae are: a tendency for roots to have CVCV syllable structure; prenasalised voiced stops; and stress occurring on the penultimate syllable of a word (§2).
- Ambae is a nominative-accusative language, the grammatical functions A and S patterning together in contrast to O in terms of: strict AVO/SV constituent order; indexing in the VP of the subject argument by a proclitic, and of the object argument by an enclitic; and the use of articles which specify nominative and accusative case (§3).
- With all pronominal forms, an inclusive/exclusive distinction is made in the first person. There are three numbers distinguished for pronouns: singular, dual, and non-singular (§4.10).
- Ambae is basically a head-marking language (according to the criteria established by Nichols (1986)), as evidenced by the following: in prepositional phrases, if the oblique argument is expressed by a pronominal, it is marked on the preposition (§6); in possessive constructions the possessive suffix (showing person and number of the possessor) or construct suffix is attached to the head noun (possessee) rather than the dependent noun (possessor) (§7); and person and number of the subject and object argument are indexed in the VP by clitics (§3, §9). Relativization is dependent-marked, the common argument occurring in the main clause rather than the relative clause (§14.3).
- A distinction is made between inalienable and alienable possession, expressed by direct and indirect possessive constructions respectively. In an indirect construction relational classifiers specify the nature of the semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessee. There are four classifiers, indicating that the function of the possessee for the possessor is as an edible, drinkable or natural object, or in the residual class (§7).
- There is an extensive use of verb serialisation at both the nuclear and core layer of the clause (§10).
- In terms of valency rearrangement, there are applicative and causative affixes which increase the valency of A-type and O-type intransitive verbs respectively. In the case of transitive verbs, the valency of A-type verbs is reduced by reduplication, and the valency of O-type verbs is reduced by an anticausative prefix. There are subclasses of both intransitive and transitive verbs for which the valency is fixed, and no valency rearrangement is possible (§11).
- There is no copula; possessive, equational, and most existential clauses are nonverbal (§13).

## 1.7 THIS STUDY

### 1.7.1 THE GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION

This work is a synchronic reference grammar, the basic aim of which is to describe the morphosyntax of the Lolovoli dialect of the North-East Ambae language. As I went about

my data collection, many older speakers complained to me of the fact that the younger generation of speakers do not know how to speak 'real' language, having little knowledge of traditional ceremonial language, and littering their everyday speech with borrowings from Bislama. To some extent they are right, but this is not a judgement which a linguist can make in describing a language. As I emphasised to the speakers, while I recognise the importance of making a record of culturally-based language which is in danger of being 'lost' as it falls out of use, my aim is to record what I see as the 'real' language, the language spoken today in everyday situations by women and men, young and old. As such, I have made no attempt to edit out borrowings, but have included these in the description, particularly where they have become incorporated into the grammar of the modern language.

While I state that this is a purely synchronic grammar, there is a considerable literature of both synchronic and diachronic studies of the Oceanic languages, and it is often useful to refer to these works in order to identify whether a particular form or construction is either characteristic of languages in the subgroup, or, on the other hand, anomalous. As the language is very conservative in Oceanic terms, I have thus referred to some historical data in cases where it either demonstrates this, or assists in understanding the behaviour of the modern language. At some points I also make comparisons to other languages in the subgroup.

In analysing the data I do not adhere to a particular formal model. I work within a descriptive framework, with the intention of making the analysis accessible to the typologist, grammarian and historical linguist alike. I draw on different theories where they aid in the presentation of the data, particularly the notion of the layered structure of the clause as presented in Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1993).

## 1.7.2 FIELDWORK

As noted in §1.4.2, there are a small number of published materials available on the North-East Ambae language, in the form of word lists, texts, and two brief grammatical sketches. While I referred to these works in my initial investigations of the language, this grammatical description is based entirely on my own data, collected mainly on Ambae, but also from speakers of the language living in the towns of Santo and Port Vila. I have spent a total of approximately one year in Vanuatu, making one field trip each year over a three year period. My initial trip in 1995 was for a period of six months, with a further stay of four months in 1996, and a short trip of six weeks at the end of 1997 to check the accuracy of my analysis of the data as it stood at that stage. During this time, I spent approximately nine months on Ambae.

Most of the data were collected in the Lolovoli district, where I was based during each stay. I have collected data from other areas, in order to be able to give some picture of the dialectal variation of the language, as described in §1.5. Considering that the variation

between dialects is quite extensive, I decided, for the sake of consistency, to write a description based on a single dialect. This description is a description of the Lolovoli dialect, and all examples throughout this work are from that dialect, unless otherwise indicated.

It is important to acknowledge the involvement of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre in assisting me with my research, in particular two women from Ambae who are fieldworkers working under the auspices of the Women's Culture Project, Roselyn Garae and Jennifer Mwera. It was with Roselyn and her family that I lived in the village of Lolosangga, and it was she who was my main language assistant, both helping with transcription and translation work, and offering invaluable assistance in explaining my research to the community, and encouraging them to be my informants. I also worked with two other language assistants in Lolovoli, Stanley Bani and Salome Tanga. Working with three different people enabled me to cross check translations, and guard against individual idiosyncrasies.

Jennifer Mwera is from Lowainasasa in the Lombaha district, and I worked with her for a period of a week in both 1995 and 1996. In 1995 she assisted me in making a dialect study of the northern part of the island, and in 1996 we held a three day dictionary workshop at Lowainasasa, aimed at helping the community to write their own dictionary.

In 1995 I spent ten days at Wai Sine, near Sagau, with Melis Mauri Bageo. Melis helped me to collect word lists and texts in the southern villages of Sagau and Matanwado.

My approach to data collection was as follows. In writing a grammatical description of a language, I am conscious of the importance of gaining reasonable proficiency in the language under study, in order to enable the linguist to acquire some level of intuition about how the language operates, as an aid to describing the grammatical system. I thus put a strong emphasis on learning the language myself at all stages, particularly during my initial period of fieldwork, so that when I returned for my second period of fieldwork in 1996, I was able to dispense with using Bislama for communicating with members of the community, using it only in data collection sessions with my language assistants. I did not take a monolingual approach to learning the language, but used both English and Bislama, particularly in elicitation and the translation of texts. On my first field trip I mainly concentrated on collecting text samples of natural language, and translating these with the help of speakers who have a reasonable proficiency in English. On the second trip I concentrated on eliciting data, focussing on particular complexities in the grammar, and on constructions which do not seem to appear as regularly in natural speech.

Texts have been recorded from a wide range of speakers, both male and female, of varying ages. The youngest speaker whom I recorded was only six at the time, and the oldest was approximately ninety. A large number of the texts which I have collected are narratives, in particular traditional stories, the recitation of which is learnt at an early age, as a means of disseminating oral history, and of teaching morals. The other discourse styles recorded are descriptive narratives, conversations, speeches, procedural texts and songs. A full list of all

texts collected (90 in total) is included in appendix A. Only 3 of these texts are given in full in appendix B, but references are given for most example sentences throughout the work. Where a reference begins with a two or three letter code, this refers to the reference code for the text, and the number which follows refers to the sentence number in the text. The reader is thus able to refer to the text references in appendix A, in order to establish what type of text is involved, and an idea of the topic. Where a reference is of the form (9X.XX), the example can be identified as an elicited utterance, the first number referring to the year in which it was collected, and the number after the full stop referring to a page number in my notebooks. The latter number thus has no function for the reader except to indicate that it is an elicited example rather than one occurring in natural text. If no reference number follows an example, this could mean either that the sentence was not recorded, but is an example which I have noted being uttered during daily conversation, or in rare cases, it simply means that it is an isolated example which has not been assigned a number.

# 2

## Phonology

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### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Lolovoli dialect distinguishes sixteen consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. There is little allophonic variation. There is some variation in the phonetic realisation of some phonemes in the different dialects. The inventory described here and the analysis of the phonological structure relates specifically to the Lolovoli dialect and all differences in other dialects which I have observed are discussed in §1.5.1.

### 2.2 PHONEME INVENTORY

#### 2.2.1 CONSONANTS

Place: Manner:	Bilabial	Dental/ Alveolar	Velar	Labio- velar	Glottal
Voiceless stop		t	k		
Prenasalised voiced stop	b	d	g	g <sup>w</sup>	
Nasal	m	n	ŋ	m <sup>w</sup>	
Fricative	β	s			h
Tap/trill		r			
Lateral		l			
Approximant					
Glide				w	

Table 2.1 Consonant inventory

Notable features of the consonant inventory are the prenasalised stops and labio-velar obstruents which are characteristic of the Oceanic languages (Clark 1987). Also observe the voiceless dental stop which contrasts with other apical phonemes with an alveolar place of articulation. This dental/alveolar mismatch is common in Oceanic languages.

2.2.2 VOWELS

The vowel system conforms to the standard Oceanic pattern, reflecting the five vowels which have been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Table 2.2 Vowel inventory

2.3 ORTHOGRAPHY

Before describing the individual phonemes, it is important to discuss some orthographic issues, so that the reader is aware of how the orthography relates to the phonemic transcription. In particular, there are some unconventional representations of the phonemes in the orthography.

The language has a reasonably well established orthography, developed by early missionaries who transcribed the language. When the language was first written down, different missionaries used different spelling systems (cf Codrington (1885), Suas (1912), Tattevin (1953)), but the orthography which has been used in the recent translation of the Gospels (1986) is the system which is consistently used by literate people from all dialect areas. I therefore have chosen to follow this established orthography, although some of the orthographic representations are not what I would consider to be ideal.

Referring to Table 2.3, note that the only problematic phonemes with regard to the orthography are: /k/, /g/, /g<sup>w</sup>/, /m<sup>w</sup>/ and /ŋ/. While ‘t’ represents the voiceless dental stop, and ‘d’ the prenasalised voiced alveolar stop, in the velar series, ‘g’ has been chosen for the voiceless stop, and ‘k’ for the prenasalised voiced stop. I would, naturally, have preferred to have used ‘k’ for the voiceless stop, and ‘g’ for the prenasalised voiced stop. Early on however, I realised that the orthography, created by early missionaries, was well established and consistently used by a large number of speakers. Speakers more literate in English and/or Bislama than their native language seem to have the same reservations about this orthography as I do, and often these two phonemes are confused.

For the phoneme /g<sup>w</sup>/, ‘q’ was chosen. The labialised labio-velar /m<sup>w</sup>/ is problematic, as this phoneme is not consistently represented, being written both as ‘mw’ and ‘m̄’. The symbol ‘m̄’ was originally chosen, as it was thought that the digraph ‘mw’ would deceptively suggest that the phoneme was simply a labialised bilabial nasal. I have chosen to represent /m<sup>w</sup>/ orthographically as ‘mw’, as some speakers do, for typographic reasons. Likewise, the velar nasal is represented consistently in the orthography as ‘ñ’. I have chosen to use the diagraph ‘ng’ here for typographic reasons.

Phoneme	Orthographic representation
t	t
k	g
b	b
d	d
g	k
m <sup>w</sup>	mw
g <sup>w</sup>	q
m	m
n	n
ŋ	ng
β	v
s	s
h	h
r	r
l	l
w	w
i	i
e	e
a	a
o	o
u	u

Table 2.3 Orthographic representation of phonemes

2.4 DESCRIPTION OF PHONEMES

2.4.1 VOICELESS STOPS

Voiceless stops are always aspirated word initially, but there is some variation in the aspiration intervocalically. Where they occur word finally in the phonetic realisation, that is, where the final vowel is not pronounced (§2.6.4), the stop is unreleased.

- /t/    Voiceless dental stop
  - [tʰ] / #\_
  - [t̚] / \_#
  - [t], [tʰ] elsewhere

<b>tangaloi</b>	[tʰaŋˈloi]	‘person’
<b>qeta</b>	[ˈŋgʷɛ̃t̚a], [ˈŋgʷɛ̃t̚]	‘taro’
<b>mataku</b>	[maˈt̚ʰaŋgɔ]	‘my eyes’



- /k/ Voiceless velar stop  
→ [k<sup>h</sup>] / #\_  
→ [k<sup>ʰ</sup>] / \_#  
→ [k], [k<sup>h</sup>] elsewhere

<b>gani</b>	[k <sup>h</sup> aɪn]	‘eat’
<b>hage</b>	[hake], [hak <sup>ʰ</sup> ]	‘go up’
<b>lague</b>	[la'kue]	‘big’

#### 2.4.2 PRENASALISED VOICED STOPS

For all prenasalised consonants, the nasalisation is very pronounced intervocalically, but is often not as distinct word initially.

- /b/ Prenasalised voiced bilabial stop  
→ [m<sup>b</sup>]

<b>bebe</b>	[m <sup>b</sup> ɛm <sup>b</sup> ɛ]	‘butterfly’
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- /d/ Prenasalised voiced alveolar stop  
→ [n<sup>d</sup>]

<b>didiu</b>	[n <sup>d</sup> ɪn <sup>d</sup> ɪɔ]	‘ant’
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- /g/ Prenasalised voiced velar stop  
→ [ŋ<sup>g</sup>]

<b>kakauku</b>	[ŋ <sup>g</sup> aŋ <sup>g</sup> a'uŋ <sup>g</sup> ɔ]	‘my rib’
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- /g<sup>w</sup>/ Labialised prenasalised voiced velar stop  
→ [ŋ<sup>g</sup>w]

<b>qie</b>	[ŋ <sup>g</sup> wie], [ŋ <sup>g</sup> wi]	‘ash, dust’
<b>huqe</b>	[huŋ <sup>g</sup> wɛ]	‘pig-killing’

#### 2.4.3 NASALS

- /m/ Voiced bilabial nasal  
→ [m]

<b>manu</b>	[man]	‘bird’
<b>tamaku</b>	[t <sup>h</sup> a'maŋ <sup>g</sup> ɔ]	‘my father’

- /n/ Voiced alveolar nasal  
→ [ɲ] / \_ε, i  
→ [n] elsewhere

<b>nagona</b>	[na'kʰɒn]	'her/ his face'
<b>nunumu</b>	[nɔ'num]	'your image, photo'

/n/ is palatalised in some words before a high or mid, front vowel. This, however is not a regular change, and only occurs in a small number of examples.

<b>niko</b>	[ɲɪŋgo]	2SG pronoun
<b>neu</b>	[ɲeɔ]	1SG pronoun
<b>gineu</b>	[kʰɪ'ɲeɔ]	'thing'
<b>tarani</b>	[tʰa'ran]	'want'
<b>taraniana</b>	[tʰa,raɲ'ana]	'wanting'

- /ŋ/ Voiced velar nasal  
→ [ŋ]

<b>ngara</b>	[ʔara]	'cry'
<b>hangavulu</b>	[haŋa'βul]	'ten'

- /m<sup>w</sup>/ Labialised labio-velar nasal  
→ [m<sup>w</sup>], [ŋm<sup>w</sup>] / V\_V  
→ [ŋm<sup>w</sup>] elsewhere

<b>mwera</b>	[ʔm <sup>w</sup> ɛra]	'man'
<b>gamwadidi</b>	[kʰam <sup>w</sup> a'ndiɲdi]	'cold'
<b>mwamwavi</b>	[ŋm <sup>w</sup> a'ŋm <sup>w</sup> aβi]	'hot'

#### 2.4.4 FRICATIVES

- /β/ Voiced bilabial fricative  
→ [β] / V\_V  
→ [ϕ], [β] elsewhere

<b>vale</b>	[ʔϕal], [ʔβal]	'house'
<b>livora</b>	[li'βɔra]	'their teeth, tusks'

- /s/ Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative  
→ [s]

<b>siaga</b>	[si'aka], [si'akʰ]	'strong'
<b>qasisi</b>	[ŋgʷa'sɪs]	'grind (kava)'

- /h/ Voiceless glottal fricative  
→ [h]

<b>hako</b>	['haŋgo]	'hold'
<b>mahanga</b>	[ma'han]	'branch'

#### 2.4.5 RHOTIC

- /r/ Voiced alveolar rhotic (tapped or trilled)  
→ [r], [ɾ]

In most cases, /r/ is realised as a tap, but there is some speaker variation. Some speakers trill the rhotic in all environments, but others mainly pronounce the rhotic as a tap, and use trilling to express emphasis. In children's speech, the rhotic is most often realised as a trill. I also noted that more speakers pronounced the rhotic as a trill in the northern dialect of Lombaha.

<b>roro</b>	['ɾɔro], [rɔro]	'news'
<b>garea</b>	[ka'rea], [ka'rea]	'good'

#### 2.4.6 LATERAL

- /l/ Voiced alveolar lateral  
→ [l]

<b>logo</b>	['lɔg]	'where'
<b>ilo</b>	['ɪl]	'know'

#### 2.4.7 GLIDE

- /w/ Labio-velar glide  
→ [w], [kw]

The labio-velar glide can be realised as either a plain glide, or a pre-stop glide. There is a lot of speaker variation in the pronunciation of this phoneme, with more or less emphasis placed on the stop. Generally, it is more likely for it to occur as a plain glide word initially, and as a pre-stop glide intervocally.

<b>wai</b>	[waɪ], [kwai]	'water'
<b>siwo</b>	['siwɔ], ['si'kwɔ]	'nine'

There is one example of a word in which, in the pronunciation of some speakers, the glide is unrealised, and only the stop is pronounced. In this case the /w/ phoneme occurs word finally and the final vowel is not pronounced.

**lawe**                    [lawe], [la<sup>k</sup>we], [lak<sup>ʔ</sup>]    ‘to’ dative preposition

2.4.8 VOWELS

- /i/    High front unrounded vowel  
    → [ɪ] in an unstressed syllable  
    → [i] in a stressed syllable

<b>bibilu</b>	[mbɪ <sup>ʔ</sup> mbilɔ]	‘wet’
<b>vinuku</b>	[φɪ <sup>ʔ</sup> nuŋgɔ]	‘my skin’
<b>vire</b>	[φiɾɛ]	‘flower’

- /e/    Mid front unrounded vowel  
    → [e] / \_V  
    → [ɛ] elsewhere

<b>bageo</b>	[mba <sup>ʔ</sup> keo]	‘shark’
<b>qeuku</b>	[ŋg <sup>w</sup> e <sup>ʔ</sup> uŋkɔ]	‘my knee’
<b>veve</b>	[φɛφ]	‘say, tell’
<b>Ede</b>	[ɛ <sup>n</sup> dɛ]	‘Auntie’

- /a/    Low central unrounded vowel  
    → [a]

<b>avi</b>	[a <sup>ʔ</sup> φ]	‘fire’
<b>matagu</b>	[ma <sup>ʔ</sup> taku], [ma <sup>ʔ</sup> tak <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	‘be frightened’

- /o/    Mid back rounded vowel

There is considerable variation in the pronunciation of /o/. There is a tendency for [o] to occur word finally, [ɔ] before a rhotic, and [ɒ] between two consonants, but otherwise the allophones are in free variation.

- [o] / \_#
- [ɔ] / \_r
- [ɒ] / C\_C
- [ɒ], [ɔ], [o]

<b>veveo</b>	[φɛ'βeo]	'pandanus'
<b>ngora</b>	['ŋɔra]	'snore'
<b>loko</b>	['lɔŋgo]	'a food dish, pudding'
<b>toa</b>	[tɔa]	'run', 'chicken'

- /u/ High back rounded vowel  
→ [ɔ] in an unstressed syllable  
→ [u] in a stressed syllable

<b>luqe</b>	['luŋgʷɛ]	'clothes, wrap'
<b>uvi</b>	['uφ], ['uβi]	'blow'
<b>vuluku</b>	[βɔ'luŋgɔ]	'my hair'

## 2.5 MINIMAL PHONEMIC CONTRASTS

### 2.5.1 MINIMAL CONSONANTAL CONTRASTS

• /t/ - /d/	<b>toto</b>	'stone (v)'	<b>dodo</b>	'dark'	
• /k/ - /g/ - /gʷ/	<b>lagao</b>	'step over'	<b>laka</b>	'make noise'	<b>laqa</b> 'speak'
• /m/ - /n/ - /ŋ/	<b>mama</b>	'Dad'	<b>mana</b>	'laugh'	<b>manga</b> 'rest'
• /m/ - /mʷ/	<b>mero</b>	'angry'	<b>mwera</b>	'male'	
• /r/ - /l/	<b>ruqi</b>	'club'	<b>luqe</b>	'clothes, wrap'	
• /s/ - /h/	<b>saro</b>	'lie'	<b>haro</b>	'not know'	
• /w/ - /k/	<b>wai</b>	'water'	<b>gai</b>	'tree, wood'	

### 2.5.2 MINIMAL VOWEL CONTRASTS

• /i/ - /e/	<b>bibi</b>	'tightly'	<b>bebe</b>	'butterfly'
• /i/ - /a/	<b>vile</b>	'lightning'	<b>vale</b>	'house'
• /i/ - /o/	<b>ribi</b>	'long time'	<b>robo</b>	'laplap leaf'
• /i/ - /u/	<b>vile</b>	'lightning'	<b>vule</b>	'moon'
• /e/ - /a/	<b>welu</b>	'eight'	<b>walu</b>	'hole'
• /e/ - /o/	<b>rere</b>	'boil (v)'	<b>roro</b>	'news'
• /e/ - /u/	<b>rere</b>	'boil (v)'	<b>ruru</b>	'earthquake'
• /a/ - /o/	<b>bana</b>	'because'	<b>bona</b>	'smell'
• /a/ - /u/	<b>balu</b>	'steal'	<b>bulu</b>	'join'
• /o/ - /u/	<b>toli</b>	'egg'	<b>tuli</b>	'throw'

**geli-geli-gini=e** 'dig with it'  
REDUP-dig-APPL=3SGO

## 2.6.2 STRESS

Primary stress occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word. It is assigned to the word, not the root, therefore stress changes when a root is affixed.

<b>vale</b>	[ʔal]	‘house’
<b>vale-ku</b>	[ʔaʔlɛŋgu]	‘my house’
<b>dimwango</b>	[nɗiʔmʷaŋ]	‘heart’
<b>dimwango-mu</b>	[nɗimʷaʔŋɔm]	‘your heart’
<b>tabe</b>	[ʔaʔmbɛ]	‘love, respect’ (v)
<b>tabe-ana</b>	[ʔaʔmbɛʔana]	‘love, respect’ (n)

In words of four or more syllables, secondary stress occurs on every alternate syllable before the syllable containing primary stress (penultimate syllable).

<b>retahi-de</b>	[reʔaʔhiʔndɛ]	‘our mother’
<b>retahi-deru</b>	[reʔaʔhiʔnderu]	‘our (DL) mother’
<b>karu-keru-gi</b>	[ŋgaʔrɔŋgɛʔruk]	‘the feet (ends)’
<b>lado-lado-gi-ni=e</b>	[laʔnɗolaʔnɗokʔni]	‘think about it/her/him’

The fact that stress is regularly assigned to the penultimate syllable is strong evidence for treating diphthongs as consisting of underlying two vowel sequences, as each vowel must belong to a separate syllable (§2.6.3.1.1).

## 2.6.3 VOWEL SEQUENCES AND DIPHTHONGS

All vowel sequences are possible phonetically, except  $V_1V_1$ . Where a  $V_1V_1$  sequence occurs phonemically due to suffixation, the second vowel is realised as zero, in other words, this combination does not result in a long or double vowel. The presence of the second vowel can be observed in the surface form due to the stress patterns.

$$V_1 \rightarrow \emptyset / V_1\_$$

<b>retahi-ku</b>	[reʔaʔhiʔŋgɔ]	‘my mother’
<b>retahi-deru</b>	[reʔaʔhiʔnderu]	‘our (DL) mother’
<b>retahi-i Lulu</b>	[reʔaʔhi ʔlul]	‘Lulu’s mother’
<b>laqa</b>	[ʔaʔgʷa]	‘speak’
<b>laqa-ana</b>	[ʔaʔgʷan]	‘meeting’



There are differences in the phonetic realisation of the vowel sequences. While some vowels maintain their unique value when in a sequence, in other cases diphthongisation results (§2.6.3.1).

<b>ii</b> -	<b>ie</b> qie 'ash' [ŋg <sup>w</sup> i]	<b>ia</b> siaga 'hard' [si'ak <sup>ɿ</sup> ]	<b>io</b> io 'yes' [io]	<b>iu</b> giriu 'dog' [k <sup>h</sup> i'riɔ]
<b>ei</b> tuei 'before' [t <sup>h</sup> ɔ'eɪ]	<b>ee</b> -	<b>ea</b> mea 'tongue' ['mea]	<b>eo</b> bageo 'shark' [ <sup>m</sup> ba'k <sup>h</sup> eo]	<b>eu</b> qeu 'knee' [ŋg <sup>w</sup> eɔ]
<b>ai</b> talai 'axe' [t <sup>h</sup> a'lai]	<b>ae</b> baego [ <sup>m</sup> ba'ɛk <sup>h</sup> o]	<b>aa</b> -	<b>ao</b> gao 'burn' [k <sup>h</sup> ao]	<b>au</b> gau 'hook' [k <sup>h</sup> aɔ]
<b>oi</b> soi 'fall' ['soi]	<b>oe</b> boe 'pig' [ <sup>m</sup> boɛ]	<b>oa</b> toa 'run' [t <sup>h</sup> oa]	<b>oo</b> -	<b>ou</b> luwou 'big' [lu'woɔ]
<b>ui</b> rui 'fat' ['rui]	<b>ue</b> tueku 'my SSsib' [t <sup>h</sup> ɔ'ɛŋgu]	<b>ua</b> tuana 'his/her SSsib' [t <sup>h</sup> ɔ'an]	<b>uo</b> ?	<b>uu</b> -

There are few vowel sequences containing more than two vowels. However sequences of three or four vowels are possible. These sequences particularly occur as a result of affixation of roots.

<b>dorieu</b>	[ <sup>n</sup> don'eɔ]	'turn me'
<b>gaiono</b>	[kat'on]	'six'
<b>raui</b>	[ra'ui]	'leaf of'
<b>tuei</b>	[t <sup>h</sup> ɔ'eɪ]	'before'
<b>buluieu</b>	[ <sup>m</sup> bɔ,ɔt'eɔ]	'help me'

### 2.6.3.1 DIPHTHONGS

There are no diphthong phonemes in Ambae. All phonetic diphthongs are formed from an underlying V+V. Diphthongisation occurs when a syllable consists simply of a vowel, which is higher than the vowel of the preceding syllable. When two vowels form a diphthong there is no sharp transition between the vowels, but a more gradual one than in

other vowel sequences. As all diphthongs are rising, when a vowel combination occurs in which the second vowel is lower than the first, the unique nature of each vowel is maintained.

Positing diphthong phonemes would not only increase considerably the number of phonemes in the language, but also require a change to the stress rule. When a vowel sequence occurs word finally which results in a diphthong, this diphthong carries stress. If one were to posit diphthong phonemes, it would require a stress assignment rule such that stress always occurs on the penultimate syllable, unless the final vowel is a diphthong, in which case stress occurs on the final syllable.

Nine diphthongs are realised phonetically:

[aɛ]  
[ao]  
[ai]  
[au]  
[ei]  
[eu]  
[oi]  
[ou]

#### 2.6.4 APOCOPE

In the northern dialects of the language, the CV structure is consistent throughout the word, and words can neither end in a consonant, nor have consonant clusters internally. However, in the Lolovoli dialect, while the basic CV structure is maintained, in normal speech, word final vowels are dropped in many environments. The phonetic realisations of many words therefore have final consonants, and the underlying final vowel of many roots only surfaces in suffixed forms.

<b>gamali</b>	[k <sup>h</sup> a'mal]	'nakamal'
<b>gamalimai</b>	[k <sup>h</sup> amali'mai]	'our (1NSG.EX) nakamal'
<b>mana</b>	['man]	'laugh'
<b>managi</b>	[ma'nak <sup>ʔ</sup> ]	'laugh at'

If the word ends in a CV syllable, final vowels are usually lost except when the consonant of the final syllable is a prenasalised obstruent or an /r/. There is more variation in the release of the final vowel when the consonant of the final syllable is /h/ or /w/.

CV# → CV / C = <sup>m</sup>b, <sup>n</sup>d, <sup>ŋ</sup>g, <sup>ŋ</sup>m<sup>w</sup>, <sup>ŋ</sup>g<sup>w</sup>, r (h, w)  
→ C / elsewhere

<b>gato</b>	[kʰatʰ]	‘speak’
<b>dige</b>	[ʰdikʰ]	‘walk’
<b>mama</b>	[ʰmam]	‘Dad’
<b>mana</b>	[ʰman]	‘laugh’
<b>manga</b>	[ʰmaŋ]	‘rest’
<b>navo</b>	[naβ]	‘wave’
<b>vusi</b>	[ʰβus]	‘hill’
<b>hili</b>	[ʰhɪl]	‘hide’
<b>labe</b>	[la <sup>m</sup> bɛ]	‘stand’
<b>mada</b>	[ma <sup>n</sup> da]	‘rotten’
<b>loko</b>	[lɔ <sup>ŋ</sup> go]	‘laplap’
<b>himwehimwe</b>	[hɪŋm <sup>wɛ</sup> hɪŋm <sup>wɛ</sup> ]	‘rainbow’
<b>laqa</b>	[la <sup>ŋ</sup> gwa]	‘speak’
<b>ngara</b>	[ŋara]	‘cry’
<b>aho</b>	[ʰaho]	‘sun’
<b>uhe</b>	[ʰuh], [ʰuhɛ]	‘rain’
<b>bagataha</b>	[ <sup>m</sup> bakʰhaha], [ <sup>m</sup> bakʰhah]	‘today’
<b>siwo</b>	[siwɔ], [si <sup>k</sup> wɔ], [si <sup>k</sup> w]	‘nine’
<b>lawe</b>	[lawɛ], [la <sup>k</sup> wɛ], [la <sup>k</sup> w]	‘to’ (dative preposition)

There is considerable speaker variation, such that some speakers pronounce more final vowels, and the final vowel is more likely to be pronounced in particular words. Other speakers are more consistent in not pronouncing the final vowels, to the extent that, if I were to ask what the final vowel of a particular word is, some speakers would say that the root ended in a consonant. While I could generally establish what the final vowel should be by eliciting a suffixed form of the root, for those roots which never take a suffix, in some cases I could never establish what the final vowel is.

In monosyllabic words, the final vowel is always expressed.

<b>lo</b>	[lɔ]	locative preposition
<b>na</b>	[na]	article

When a word ends in a syllable consisting simply of a V, the word final vowel is pronounced, unless it is an /e/, in which case there is some variation. If /e/ occurs after a high or mid vowel, it is not pronounced. If it occurs after the low vowel /a/ then diphthongisation occurs.

- Vi#     **matui**     [maʰtʰui]     ‘dry coconut’
- Va#     **memea**     [mɛʰmɛɪa]     ‘red’
- Vo#     **kio**     [ʰŋgio]     ‘dolphin’
- Vu#     **visiu**     [ʰtʰsiu]     ‘star’

• iɛ#	<b>ngihie</b>	[ŋi'hɪ]	'that'
• aɛ#	<b>mamarae</b>	[,mama'rae]	'light'
• oɛ#	<b>etoe</b>	[ɛ'tʰo]	'sorry'
• uɛ#	<b>tomue</b>	[tɔ'mu]	'first'

Where minimal pairs are distinguished by the final vowel, this can result in the same surface form when the final vowel is deleted.

<b>lango</b>	['laŋ]	'fly (n)'
<b>langi</b>	['laŋ]	'wind'
<b>langa</b>	['laŋ]	'turn over'

There is some disruption to the CV structure word internally, where vowels are deleted and consonant clusters occur, but I believe that this only occurs at morpheme breaks. In most cases this is easy to analyse, as with derivational affixes and reduplication (§2.6.6).

<b>vagarue</b>	[βak'ru]	'twice'	<b>vaga</b> 'caus.' + <b>rue</b> 'two'
<b>hageliu</b>	[hak'liu]	'especially'	<b>hage</b> 'go up' + <b>liu</b> 'surpass'
<b>mwosomwoso</b>	[,ŋmʷosŋmʷos]	'play'	<b>mwoso</b> (redup.) 'play'
<b>vuluvulusi</b>	[φɔlφɔ'lusi]	'body hair'	<b>vulu</b> (redup.) 'hair'

This vowel deletion can also occur at a morpheme break in a compound word. In some cases the morphemes forming the word are clearly evident, but in other examples, a morphemic analysis is synchronically unjustifiable but diachronically evident.

<b>matagoro</b>	[,maɬ'kɔrɔ]	'housewife'	<b>mata</b> 'eye' + <b>goro</b> 'block'
			lit. 'the one who blocks the eye (door of the house).'
<b>manatawe</b>	[,man'tʰaʷɛ]	'thunder'	<b>mana</b> 'laugh' + <b>tawe</b> ?
<b>tamaragai</b>	[,tʰamar'kaɪ]	'old man'	<b>tamara</b> 'their father' + <b>gai</b> ?

The following examples (1 and 2), with phonetic representations of single clause utterances, illustrate the environments in which apocope occurs.

- 1) **Go=mo tarani gani loko?**  
 'kɔm tʰa'ran kʰatn 'lɔŋgo  
 2SGS=REAL want eat laplap  
*Do you want to eat laplap pudding?*

- 2) **Gimiu la-lavasigi ne=ni bete hinaga lawe=ra.**  
 kʰɪ'miu lalaf'sik' 'nen 'mbɛɬ' hɪ'nak' la'wɛra  
 2NSG REDUP-some 2NSGS=IRR give food BEN=3NSGO  
*Some of you will give food to them.*

When words are intensified, the word final vowel is pronounced. For example, the final vowel in *biti* ‘small’ is generally unreleased, but if the speaker wishes to intensify the word, the vowel of the first syllable is lengthened, and the final vowel is released, giving the form [ˈmbiːti].

2.6.5 VOWEL HEIGHT ASSIMILATION

There is a general restriction on syllable structure which states that it is not possible for the low vowel /a/ to occur between two syllables which contain a high vowel.

$$* (C)V[+high](C)a(C)V[+high]$$

This restriction firstly means that it is not possible for such forms to occur as roots in the language. So while the roots *dueliu* ‘south-east wind’ and *tuei* ‘before’ occur, forms such as \**dualiu* and \**tuai* would not be possible<sup>1</sup>.

When morphological processes operate on a word which would result in /a/ then occurring in this environment, the vowel is raised to /e/.

$$a \rightarrow e / (C)V[+high](C)\_ (C)V[+high]$$

This vowel height assimilation rule thus operates when a (C)a(C)V[+high] root or (C)V[+high](C)a root is affected by the following morphological processes:

- reduplication;
- affixation with one of the possessive suffixes which contain a high front vowel;
- the formation of compounds.

Reduplication

$$(C)a(C)V[+high] + \text{reduplication} \rightarrow (C)a(C)V[+high](C)e(C)V[+high]$$

<b>dali</b>	‘side’	→	<b>dali-deli</b>
<b>gahi</b>	‘weed’	→	<b>gahi-gehi</b>
<b>garu</b>	‘swim’	→	<b>garu-geru</b>
<b>kali</b>	‘lie to’	→	<b>kali-keli</b>
<b>karu</b>	‘leg, foot’	→	<b>karu-keru</b>
<b>vatu</b>	‘weave’	→	<b>vatu-vetu</b>
<b>vai</b>	‘do, make’	→	<b>vai-vei</b>

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<sup>1</sup> Note for these two starred forms, that *tua(i)* ‘already, finished’ has been reconstructed for the putative Proto Eastern Oceanic (Pawley 1972), and *dualiu* ‘south-east wind’ has been reconstructed for the putative Proto North Central Vanuatu (Ross Clark p.c.).

Direct possession

$$(C)V[+high](C)a + -(C)V[+high](CV) \rightarrow (C)V[+high](C)e(C)V[+high](CV)$$

<b>guwa-</b>	<b>guwe-ku</b>	'my mouth'	<b>guwa-na</b>	'her/his mouth'
<b>huna-</b>	<b>hune-mu</b>	'your umbrella'	<b>huna-da</b>	'our umbrella'
<b>lima-</b>	<b>lime-miru</b>	'your(DL)hands'	<b>lima-mai</b>	'our hands'
<b>luqa-</b>	<b>luqe-miu</b>	'your clothes'	<b>luqa-maru</b>	'our(DL) clothes'
<b>vanua-</b>	<b>vanue-i X</b>	'X's village'	<b>vanua-ra</b>	'their village'

Compounds

<b>ahi</b>	'song'	<b>huri-ehi</b>	'sing'
<b>avi</b>	'fire'	<b>kuku-i evi</b>	'smoke'
<b>karu</b>	'foot'	<b>tai-ni keru</b>	'foot print'
<b>tahi</b>	'sea'	<b>duvi-i tehi</b>	'middle of the sea'
<b>wai</b>	'water'	<b>mata-i wei</b>	'mouth (eye) of the creek'

This rule also operates across word boundaries, and its effect is particularly evident within the verb phrase, where the initial vowel of the verb root is often affected by a high vowel of a preceding aspect or mood particle (§9). A subject proclitic attaches to the first element of the verb phrase, which may be a particle or the verb itself. If the word or particle which precedes the verb ends in a high front vowel, and the verb has the form (C)a(C)V[+high], then the /a/ is raised. This is demonstrated below with two verbs marked for different aspect and mood, one of which is affected by vowel height assimilation, and the other is not.

<b>Ne=tai=e.</b>	'You (NSG) chop it.'	<b>Ne=hage.</b>	'You (NSG) go up.'
<b>Ne=ru tei=e.</b>	'You (DL) chop it.'	<b>Ne=ru hage.</b>	'You (DL) go up.'
<b>Ne=mo tai=e.</b>	'You chopped/are chopping/chop it. going/go up.'	<b>Ne=mo hage.</b>	'You went/are'
<b>Ne=u tei=e.</b>	'You chopped it.'	<b>Ne=u hage.</b>	'You went up.'
<b>Ne=ni tei=e.</b>	'You will chop it.'	<b>Ne=ni hage.</b>	'You will go up.'
<b>Ne=mese tai=e.</b>	'Don't chop it.'	<b>Ne=mese hage.</b>	'Don't go up.'
<b>Ne=ni hi tei=e tea.</b>	'You won't chop it.'	<b>Ne=ni hi hage tea.</b>	'You won't go up.'
<b>Ne=mo bei tei=e.</b>	'You just chopped it.'	<b>Ne=mo bei hage.</b>	'You just went up.'

Below are some examples of verb roots which are affected by vowel height assimilation.

<b>Go=mese ahu.</b>	'Don't go in.'	<b>Go=mese bato.</b>	'Don't shout.'
<b>Gu eh.</b>	'You went in.'	<b>Gu bato.</b>	'You shouted.'

<b>Ra=mo gasi=e.</b>	'They bit/bite/are biting it.'	<b>Ra=mo dange=a.</b>	'They pulled/pull/are pulling it out.'
<b>Ra=ni gesi=e.</b>	'They will bite it.'	<b>Ra=ni dange=a.</b>	'They will pull it out.'
<b>Mo hasi.</b>	'It is worse.'	<b>Mo garea.</b>	'It is better.'
<b>U hesi.</b>	'It is bad.'	<b>U garea.</b>	'It is good.'
<b>Da=mwalue.</b>	'Let's go out.'	<b>Da=qanga.</b>	'Let's jump.'
<b>Da=hi mwelue tea.</b>	'We didn't go out'	<b>Da=hi qanga tea.</b>	'We didn't jump.'

While roots of the form (C)a(C)V[+high] are possible, they are very rare and there are also certain environments in which, not only can /a/ not occur between high front vowels, but it can also not occur simply after a high front vowel. This can be seen as an extension of the vowel height assimilation rule. Thus when a transitive verb takes an object enclitic, or a noun takes a possessive suffix which has the vowel /a/, then if the root ends in a high vowel, vowel assimilation takes place.

### Object enclitics

The vowel quality of the third person singular and nonsingular object enclitics =a, and =ra are affected by the vowel assimilation rule.

$$(C)V(C)V[+high] + =(C)a \rightarrow (C)V(C)V[+high](C)e$$

<b>kali</b>	<b>kali=e</b>	'lie to her/him'	<b>hora</b>	<b>hora=a</b>	'send it/her/him'
<b>huri</b>	<b>huri=re</b>	'towards them'	<b>gene</b>	<b>gene=ra</b>	'with them'
<b>bulu</b>	<b>bulu=e</b>	'build it'	<b>sina</b>	<b>sina=a</b>	'lie to her/him'
<b>rivu</b>	<b>rivu=re</b>	'plant them'	<b>wehe</b>	<b>wehe-ra</b>	'hit/kill them'

### Direct possession

If a noun which is directly possessed ends in a high vowel, the vowels of the three possessive suffixes which end in /a/, -da 'first person nonsingular inclusive', -na 'third person singular', or -ra 'third person nonsingular', are raised to /e/.

$$(C)V(C)V[+high] + -Ca \rightarrow (C)V(C)V[+high](C)e$$

<b>bari-</b>	<b>bari-ne</b>	'her skirt'	<b>mata-</b>	<b>mata-na</b>	'her/his eye'
<b>betu-</b>	<b>betu-ne</b>	'her/his body'	<b>tama-</b>	<b>tama-na</b>	'her/his father'
<b>gavu-</b>	<b>gavu-de</b>	'our clothes'	<b>vale</b>	<b>vale-da</b>	'our house'
<b>hui-</b>	<b>hui-de</b>	'our bones'	<b>here-</b>	<b>here-da</b>	'our seats'
<b>ulu-</b>	<b>ulu-re</b>	'their height'	<b>livo-</b>	<b>livo-ra</b>	'their teeth'
<b>retahi-</b>	<b>retahi-re</b>	'their mother'	<b>qero-</b>	<b>qero-ra</b>	'their ears'



## 2.6.6 REDUPLICATION

Generally the pattern of reduplication is that bisyllabic roots are fully reduplicated, but with roots of more than two syllables, only the first syllable of the root is reduplicated.

<b>kalo</b>	‘climb’	→	<b>kalo-kalo</b>
<b>koru</b>	‘dry’	→	<b>koru-koru</b>
<b>lado</b>	‘think’	→	<b>lado-lado</b>
<b>mwoso</b>	‘play’	→	<b>mwoso-mwoso</b>
<b>tomu</b>	‘tell story’	→	<b>tomu-tomu</b>
<b>garea</b>	‘good’	→	<b>ga-garea</b>
<b>lague</b>	‘big’	→	<b>la-lague</b>
<b>lavasigi</b>	‘some’	→	<b>la-lavasigi</b>
<b>sogagi</b>	‘sell’	→	<b>so-sogagi</b>

There are a few exceptions to this rule, where only the first syllable of a bisyllabic word is reduplicated.

<b>mangi</b>	‘wipe’	→	<b>ma-mangi</b>
<b>tunu</b>	‘roast’	→	<b>tu-tunu</b>

Also, a few bisyllabic roots have two reduplicated forms, where there is a difference in meaning depending on whether the root is fully or partially reduplicated (§12.15).

<b>garu</b>	‘swim’	→	<b>ga-garu</b>	<b>garu-geru</b>
<b>gani</b>	‘eat’	→	<b>ga-gani</b>	<b>gani-ge</b>
<b>gasi</b>	‘bite’	→	<b>ga-gasi</b>	<b>gasi-gesi</b>

As mentioned previously (§2.6.4), root final vowels can be deleted not only word finally, but also at morpheme breaks. This occurs with the process of reduplication, in the same environments as it does word finally. However, it occurs less regularly such that the vowel is more likely to occur in a reduplicated form.

<b>hune</b>	‘carry on head’	→	<b>hune-hune</b>	[hʊn'hʊn]
<b>ilo</b>	‘know’	→	<b>ilo-ilo</b>	[ɪl'ilo], [ɪl'il]
<b>lasa</b>	‘beat’	→	<b>lasa-lasa</b>	[las'las]
<b>malo</b>	‘loincloth’	→	<b>malo-malo</b>	[mal'mal]
<b>koru</b>	‘dry’	→	<b>koru-koru</b>	[ɲgɔɾw'ɲgɔɾw]
<b>lado</b>	‘think’	→	<b>lado-lado</b>	[la'ndo'la'ndo]
<b>laqa</b>	‘speak’	→	<b>laqa-laqa</b>	[la'ŋgʷa'la'ŋgʷa]

Reduplicated forms are affected by the rule of vowel height assimilation (§2.6.5), whereby /a/ raises to /e/ between syllables containing high front vowels.

<b>ahu</b>	'smoke'	→	<b>ahu-ehu</b>
<b>balu</b>	'steal'	→	<b>balu-belu</b>
<b>gasi</b>	'bite'	→	<b>gasi-gesi</b>
<b>tai</b>	'chop'	→	<b>tai-tei</b>

### 2.6.7 METATHESIS

There is a minor rule of metathesis operating whereby the diphthong ai is created when a word final syllable /ni/ metathesises to [ɪn], after an /a/ in the preceding syllable.

$ni\# \rightarrow \text{ɪn}\# / a\_$

<b>gani</b>	[kʰaɪn]	'eat'
<b>nani</b>	[naɪn]	'1SG irrealis'
<b>rani</b>	[raɪn]	'day', '3NSG irrealis'

## 2.7 THE WORD

The word as a unit can be defined according to both phonological and grammatical criteria.

### 2.7.1 THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

A word can be defined phonologically as a unit which must adhere to all the established rules for the syllable structure of the language. A word thus carries its own stress, on the penultimate syllable.

According to Anderson, "[o]ne obvious source of support for word divisions is the fact that it is usually possible to pause where there is a space (at the boundary between words, that is) but not (naturally) elsewhere" (Anderson 1985:150-1). This is good evidence for positing the subject marker as a proclitic, while other preverbal elements are particles. When the subject marker cliticises to a verbal particle, this unit has status as a word, in that it carries primary stress, and it is possible to pause between this form and what follows it. It is not possible however to pause between the subject proclitic and the form it attaches to. This is the nature of clitics; unlike affixes they have a fixed position within the phrase rather than attaching to a particular class of words, and they do not carry their own stress.

Further, the unit to which processes such as vowel deletion and reduplication apply, is the word. It is not possible for an affix or a phrase to reduplicate; when a root reduplicates, the stress rules then reapply to this form, which is a word itself. In a reduplicated word it is not possible to pause between the copy and its root.

## 2.7.2 THE GRAMMATICAL WORD

There are two main criteria for defining a grammatical word. As a grammatical word functions as a unit within a sentence, it cannot be split up by placing another word within its boundaries. For example, if a word is composed of a bound noun root inflected with a possessive suffix, nothing can be placed between the root and its suffix.

- 3)     **Netu-ku            biti-gi        mo       ngara.**  
          offspring-1SGP   small-NR   REAL   cry  
*My small baby is crying.*

- 4)     **\*Netu-biti-ku-gi                mo       ngara.**  
          child-small-1SGP-NR   REAL   cry  
*My small baby is crying.*

All words are restricted to having particular functions, and occurring in specific slots within a clause. A word can be shown to be a grammatical word if it can be replaced in the clause by a form which is a member of the same word class (as long as the result is semantically plausible).

- 5)     **Mo       maturu.**  
          REAL   sleep  
*S/he is asleep.*

- 6)     **Mo       rada**  
          REAL   awake  
*S/he is awake.*

## 2.8 LOAN WORDS

The phonological form of loan words varies considerably depending on the individual speaker's level of competency in the donor language, which is generally English via Bislama. Speakers with a reasonable level of competency in English are more likely to retain a close representation of the original forms of lexical items. However, the less knowledge an individual has of English and Bislama, the more likely s/he is to adjust the form of the word to fit the phonological structure of Ambae.

### 2.8.1 LOAN PHONEMES

There are two loan phonemes which occur in the language, /p/ and /tʃ/. /tʃ/ is represented orthographically as 'j' following the convention used for Bislama. For older speakers,

particularly those who don't know English and don't use Bislama regularly, a /p/ in a loan word will become /β/ or /mb/ and a /tʃ/ will become /s/, while for other speakers there is some variation with different words.

['pɛβa], ['pɛpa]	'paper'
['mbust]	'cat'
['mbɔ'list]	'police'
['mbu'tɛtɛ]	'sweet potato'
['hapɛn], ['haβɛn]	'happen'
['səprais]	'surprise'
[rɪ'mbɔ'tɪ]	'report'
['hanwatʃ]	'watch' (n.)
['matʃ]	'March'
['masɪs]	'matches'
['tʰɔsɪ]	'torch'

### 2.8.2 MAINTAINING SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

In most cases consonant clusters in loan words are broken up to fit the rigid CV syllable structure of the language. While word final vowels are regularly deleted, all consonant-final loan words are assigned an underlying final vowel, in accordance with the CV structure. This final vowel is always /i/. As most loan words have been borrowed from English via Bislama, the phonological form has already been adapted to suit the sound system of Bislama, which is similar to the phoneme inventory of Ambae, and like Ambae does not generally allow consonant clusters.

['mbin], ['mbint]	'bean'
[las'wan], [las'want]	'last one'
[,mani'ɔk], [,mani'ɔkt]	'manioc'
['melek], [mɛ'lekɪ]	'milk'
['sɛnis], [sɛ'nist]	'change'
['wɔk], ['wɔkt]	'work'

### 2.9 INTONATION

Intonation has significant grammatical and pragmatic functions. Different patterns of intonation mark different clause types. Intonation can be the sole marker of a yes-no question and of a relative clause.

## 2.9.1 DECLARATIVE CLAUSES

In a prototypical declarative sentence the intonation is basically flat, with no clause-internal pauses, a small rise at the end of each sentence-medial clause, and a fall to indicate the termination of the sentence-final clause. Of course few clauses really have flat intonation, as pauses and rises and falls in intonation are used for pragmatic effect. Nevertheless, the marking of the end of clauses is a consistent indication of clause boundaries.

Considering that coordinate clauses are generally conjoined simply by juxtaposition, intonation can be the only marker of sentence boundaries, as example (7) shows.

- 7)
- |     |      |           |        |           |          |           |      |     |
|-----|------|-----------|--------|-----------|----------|-----------|------|-----|
| ... | ale  | go=mo     | maraga | go=mo     | teve=a.  | Go=mo     | teve | na  |
|     | CONJ | 2SGS=REAL | get.up | 2SGS=REAL | cut=3SGO | 2SGS=REAL | cut  | ACC |
- 
- |               |      |        |           |      |     |                |
|---------------|------|--------|-----------|------|-----|----------------|
| karu-keru-gi, | mo   | rovo   | go=mo     | teve | na  | maladiri-gi,   |
| REDUP-foot-AL | REAL | finish | 2SGS=REAL | cut  | ACC | tree.design-AL |
- 
- |      |        |      |      |           |      |     |           |
|------|--------|------|------|-----------|------|-----|-----------|
| mo   | rovo   | vunu | ale  | go=mo     | teve | na  | qegavi-gi |
| REAL | finish | then | CONJ | 2SGS=REAL | cut  | ACC | design-AL |
- ...so then you cut it. You cut the feet (ends), then you cut the tree design, then you cut the main design.*

## 2.9.2 IMPERATIVE CLAUSES


Imperative clauses are characterised by intonation which falls steadily throughout the clause, as indicated by the following example.


- 8)
- |            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| Go=mese    | hako=e!   |
| 2SGS=DEHOR | hold=3SGO |
- Don't touch it!*

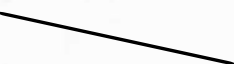
## 2.9.3 INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

The syntactic structure of yes-no questions is identical to that of declarative sentences, the interrogative nature of the clause being marked exclusively by the intonation. In a declarative clause the prototypical intonation contour is quite flat throughout the clause, with a short rise or fall at the end of the clause depending on whether it is a sentence medial, or sentence final clause. Whereas in interrogative clauses the pitch rises steadily


throughout the clause, with a sharper rise on the antepenultimate syllable, and then a sudden drop to the penultimate syllable. Sentences (9), (10) and (11) demonstrate the difference between the intonation contours of interrogative, declarative, and imperative clauses, respectively.


- 9)  **Go=ni hage Lovusi?**  
 2SGS=IRR go.up Lovusi  
*Are you going to go up to Lovusi?*


- 10)  **Go=ni hage Lovusi.**  
 2SGS=IRR go.up Lovusi  
*You will go up to Lovusi.*

- 11)  **Go=hage Lovusi!**  
 2SGS=go.up Lovusi  
*Go up to Lovusi!*

The intonation of content questions is the same as that of yes-no questions, as the following example shows. Compare the intonation of the question, with that of the response, which is a declarative sentence that consists of two clauses. In the response each clause consists of an intonation contour, with the signal of the clause boundaries being the slight rise in pitch at the end of the first clause, and the slight fall in pitch at the end of the sentence.

- 12)  **Ngie tama-mu ra=u va logo?**  
 CONJ father-2SGP 3NSGS=TEL go where?  
*And where has your father and the others gone?*

- 13)  **Ra=mo hivo lo-lo talu,**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.down REDUP-LOC garden

 **ra=mo rivu butete.**  
 3NSGS=REAL plant sweet.potato  
*They've gone to the garden, and they are planting sweet potato*

## 2.9.4 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Intonation plays a major part in recognising relative clauses. Example (14) shows an example with two sentences containing similar clauses. The first sentence contains one main clause, with a clause initial locative NP and has a single intonation contour. The second sentence contains a clause initial locative NP with an embedded relative clause, followed by a VP. There is a rise in pitch at the end of the relative clause, followed by a pause, and then the VP consists of a single intonation contour, with a fall in pitch at the end of the sentence. The intonation patterns of relative clauses are discussed in more detail in §14.3.

- 14) **Ale, [lo-lo taro ngihie] NP [ga=mo ga-gani] VP lolo-na**  
 CONJ REDUP-LOC time that 1NSG.EXS=REAL REDUP-eat inside-3SGP
- 
- vagasigi. [Lo-lo taro [ngihie ga=u ga-gani**  
 last REDUP-LOC time REL 1NSG.EXS=TEL REDUP-eat
- 
- lolo-na vagasigi,]RC]NP ra=u raha na loko,**  
 inside-3SGP last 3NSGS=TEL grate ACC laplap
- 
- loko-i qeta.**  
 laplap-CONST taro

*So at that time, we ate inside for the last time. At the time that we ate inside for the last time, they grated pudding, taro pudding.*

(MN009-010)

## 2.10 PROTO OCEANIC SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

Table 2.4 shows correspondences between posited Proto Oceanic consonant phonemes (Ross f.c. & p.c.) and the phonemes which occur in the Lolovoli dialect. It is clear from the correspondences indicated here that the consonant inventory of Lolovoli is fairly conservative. Note that some of the Proto Oceanic phonemes have two reflexes in Lolovoli. Where the conditioning environment is clear, this is given. Other variants appear to be unconditioned although the evidence is not conclusive.



Proto Oceanic			Lolovoli, North-East Ambae		
*p <sup>w</sup>	*p <sup>(w)</sup> ilak	'lightning'	β?	βile	'lightning'
*p	*patu	'stone'	β	βatu	'stone'
	*api	'fire'		aβi	'fire'
*b <sup>w</sup>	*b <sup>w</sup> araβu	'long'	g <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup> araβu	'long'
*b	*baga	'banyan'	b	baga	'banyan'
	*tubuq	'grow'		tubu	'sprout'
*t	*tanoq	'earth'	t	tano	'earth, place'
	*pati	'four'		βesi	'four'
*d	*rodo(ŋ)	'rain clouds'	d	dodo	'dark, rain clouds'
*c	*qaco	'sun'	h	aho	'sun'
*j	*juju(l,n)	'push'	s/	susuni	'push'
	*leja(n)	'nit'	h	lihe-	'nit'
*k	*kani	'eat'	k	kani	'eat'
	*kapika	'Malay apple'		kaβike	'Malay apple'
*g	*waga	'canoe'	g	aga	'canoe'
*q	*qeno	'lie down'	ø	eno	'lie down'
	*muqa-	'front'		mue-	'front (of)'
	*raqan	'branch'	ŋ	raŋa-	'branch'
*s	*sapa	'what?'	h	haβa	'what?'
	*qusan	'rain'		uhe	'rain'
*m <sup>w</sup>	*m <sup>w</sup> era	'young male'	m <sup>w</sup>	m <sup>w</sup> era	'male'
*m	*manuk	'bird'	m	manu	'bird'
	*tama-	'father'		tama-	'father'
*n	*natu-	'child'	n	netu-	'offspring'
	*tunu	'roast in the fire'		tunu	'roast in the fire'
*ñ	*-ña	P:3SG	n	-na	P:3SG
*ŋ	*ŋoro	'snore'	ŋ	ŋora	'snore'
	*boni	'night'		boni	'night'
*r	*raun	'leaf'	r	rau-	'leaf'
	*maquri[p]	'be alive'		mauri	'grow'
*dr	*[d]ranum	'water'	d/	edanu	'brackish water'
	*-dra	P:3PL	r	-ra	P:3NSG
*R	rapi	'evening'	r	reβireβi	'evening'
	suri	'follow'		huri	'follow'
	suri	'bone'	ø	hui	'bone'
*l	*leja(n)	'nit'	l	lihe-	'nit'
	*tolu	'three'		tolu	'three'
*w	*walu	'eight'	w	welu	'eight'
	*waga	'canoe'	ø	aga	'canoe'
*y	*yaŋo	'turmeric', 'yellow'	ø	aŋo	'turmeric'

Table 2.4 Proto Oceanic and Lolovoli consonant phonemes

# 3

## Basic clause structure

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### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins the discussion of syntax, the main focus, along with morphology, of the remaining chapters of the book. In order to present the reader with a general overview of the basic structure of the language, I start with an analysis of basic clause structure, specifically the structure of independent verbal clauses. This discussion includes justification for recognising the grammatical relations subject and object.

### 3.2 BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Ambae clauses are either verbal or nonverbal. All verbal clauses consist minimally of a verb phrase (VP), which has either an intransitive verb (1), a transitive verb (2), or a numeral (3) as its predicate head. The predicate of a nonverbal clause may be either a noun phrase (NP) (4) or a prepositional phrase (PP) (5).

- 1)     **Giriu** [**mo** **bato.**]<sub>VP</sub>  
dog   REAL bark  
*The dog barks/is barking/barked.*
  
- 2)     **I**     **tama-ku**     [**mo** **wehe** **na** **boe.**]<sub>VP</sub>  
PERS father-1SGP REAL kill     ACC pig  
*My father kills/is killing/killed the pig.*
  
- 3)     [**Mo** **vaga-rue.**]<sub>VP</sub>  
REAL CAUS-two  
*S/he/it does/is doing/did it a second time.*
  
- 4)     **Tano-ku**    [**Lovusi.**]<sub>NP</sub>  
place-1SGP Lovusi  
*I am from Lovusi. (Lit. My place is Lovusi.)*

- 5)      **Ngire [tau logo?]pp**  
          3NSG DEN where  
          *Where are they from?*

In this chapter I discuss basic clause structure, referring specifically to verbal clauses. The details of the basic structure of nonverbal clauses are discussed in §13.

All clauses can also be divided into main clauses, which function independently, and subordinate clauses, which are embedded in and dependent on the main clause. The basic structure of subordinate clauses mirrors that of independent clauses, and the form and function of these dependent clauses is discussed in detail in §14.

### 3.3 GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

Basic verbal clauses consist of a predicate and one or more nominal arguments which bear a particular relation to the predicate. In assessing the functions of these nominal arguments, for the purposes of this description it is useful to distinguish the basic notions 'grammatical function' and 'grammatical relation' following Andrews (1985:66).

A grammatical function will be any relationship which it might be useful to recognize which is definable over the sentence structures of a language under study, regardless of the extent to which it is important for the grammatical principles of that language. On the other hand, a grammatical relation in a language will be a grammatical function that is generally significant for the workings of the grammatical principles of that language, and which it would therefore be reasonable (although not necessarily correct) to posit as a primitive element in the sentence structures of the language.

Grammatical functions are more or less universal, while grammatical relations are language specific. The core grammatical functions which are recognised are A, S and O, and it is useful to turn again to Andrews (1985:68) for a definition of these functions.

If an NP is serving as [an] argument of a two-argument verb, and receiving the morphological and syntactic treatment normally accorded to an Agent of a PTV [primary transitive verb, e.g. hit, kill], we shall say that it has the grammatical function A; if it is an argument of a verb with two or more arguments receiving the treatment normally accorded to the patient of a PTV, we shall say it has the grammatical function O. A sentence is called 'transitive' if it has A and O functions in its syntactic structure, 'intransitive' if one or both functions is missing. ... An NP in an intransitive sentence that is receiving the treatment normally accorded to the single argument of a one-argument predicate will be said to have S function.

The following discussion will show that, in Ambae, the A and S functions are treated the same grammatically, in opposition to the O function, and therefore it can be shown that Ambae has two grammatical relations, 'subject' and 'object'. These are the only

grammatical relations in the language, as A, S and O are the only core arguments; all other arguments are obliques.

### 3.4 CODING OF GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS

According to Andrews (1985), there are three different methods available to languages for coding the grammatical functions of constituents within the clause. These are: indexing (referred to as 'cross-referencing' by Andrews, but 'indexing' is used here as a preferred term, for reasons discussed below (§3.4.1)); the ordering of clause constituents; and overt marking of nouns. Most languages employ at least two of these strategies; Ambae uses all three. Ambae is a strict AVO type constituent order language, which also indexes the A, S and O arguments in the VP. However, case marking is also used to a lesser extent, to indicate nominative, accusative, and locative case.

#### 3.4.1 INDEXING

All core arguments are indexed in the VP by pronominal clitics, A and S arguments by proclitics, and O arguments by enclitics. Oblique arguments are not indexed in the VP. Subject proclitics, which attach to the first element of the VP, specify the person and number of the A (6) or S (7) argument, and are completely obligatory, whether or not there is a subject NP (8).<sup>1</sup> This is the main means of recognising that a particular form is a verb; if there is no subject proclitic preceding a form, then it is not a verb.

- 6) Na=hi            lehi   na   tano-ra   tea.  
 1NSG.INS=NEG see   ACC   place-3NSGP NEG  
*I haven't seen their place.*

(LPD014)

- 7) Na=ni            tu   hivo.  
 1NSG.INS=IRR stay down  
*I'll stay down there.*

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<sup>1</sup> If one were analysing this situation from within a formal framework, one might ask the question, does the NP or the proclitic instantiate the subject argument when they cooccur? For the purposes of the analysis here, this question is not an issue, but for an analysis of similar situations in other languages, regarding both subject and object argument arguments, I refer the interested reader to Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) on Chichewa, and Jelinek (1984) on Warlpiri. And for a language related to Ambae, Lichtenberk (1997) addresses this question with regards to the object argument in To'aba'ita, an Oceanic language of the Solomon Islands.

- 8) (Neu) **na=hi** hage tea. \*Neu hi hage tea.  
 1SG 1SGS=NEG go.up NEG 1SG NEG go.up NEG  
*I didn't go up.*

On the other hand, the object argument occurs as either an NP following the verb (10), or an object enclitic attached to the end of the verb (9) or an adverb within the VP. It is not possible for both an object NP and an object enclitic to occur (11 and 12). It is for this reason that I refer to the pronominal specification of arguments in the VP as 'indexing' rather than 'cross-referencing', as the term 'cross-referencing' implies that the clitics refer back to another element within the clause.

- 9) **Go=lehi=eu!**  
 2SGS=look=1SGO  
*Look at me!*
- 10) **Go=lehi na teletele ngi-vano!**  
 2SGS=look ACC snake DEM-over.there  
*Look at the snake over there!*
- 11) **\*Go=lehi=eu neu.**  
 2SGS=look=1SGO 1SG  
*Look at me.*
- 12) **\*Go=lehe=a na teletele.**  
 2SGS=look=3SGO ACC snake  
*Look at the snake.*

Further, while there are subject proclitics specifying all persons and numbers, there are only object enclitics for singular, and third person non-singular referents. Other persons and numbers are expressed by independent pronouns, and thus constitute an NP (13).

- 13) **Go=lehi i gamai!**  
 2SGS=look PERS 1NSG.EX  
*Look at us!*

(14) demonstrates the common manner of specifying the object argument. When an item is new information, it is introduced by an NP which fully specifies the object referent. In subsequent clauses, where the identity of the referent is known, it is realised simply as a pronominal clitic.

- 14) **Ale go=wali na vede, go=mo tuli=e.**  
 CONJ 2SGS=take ACC dye 2SGS=REAL throw=3SGO  
*Then you get the dye, and you throw it in.*

(MD051)

Sentence (15) shows the object enclitic attached to a phrasal adverb rather than the verbal predicate head of the VP. The enclitic attaches to the last verbal or adverbial element of the VP; the details of this are discussed in §9 on the verb phrase.

- 15) **Go=tuli vohogi-ni=e.**  
 2SGS=throw away-TR=3SGO  
*Throw it away.*

### 3.4.2 CONSTITUENT ORDER

The basic order of constituents is AVO in transitive clauses (16), and SV in intransitive clauses (17). As discussed above, subject and object arguments can be expressed by NPs and/or pronominal clitics, but this has no bearing on constituent order; elements representing the A and S arguments always occur before the predicate, and those representing the O argument occur after the predicate. This constituent order is strictly adhered to; there is an extra-clausal topic position which is at the front of the clause, and can be filled by any constituent (§3.8), but if the subject or object argument is topicalised, then this argument must be indexed by a clitic, occurring in the specified position within the clause (18).

- 16) **Re maresu ra=mo hua na mwerabuto ngihie.**  
 PL child 3NSGS=REAL find ACC devil that  
 ...ra=mo vene=a.  
 3NSGS=REAL shoot=3SGO  
*The children found the devil. ...and they shot it.*

(SW1.019)

- 17) **(Neu) na=ni dige.**  
 1SG 1SGS=IRR walk  
*I'll walk.*

- 18) **Ga=ra loli, ra=u geni=re beno.**  
 CL.FOOD=3NSGP lolly 3NSGS=TEL eat=3NSGO already  
*Their lollies, they had already eaten them.*

Observe that the clause has a layered structure: the subject and object arguments are always adjacent to the predicate of the clause, occurring directly before, and directly after. Clausal adjuncts (§3.7) occur either clause initially, or clause finally, that is, either before the subject argument or after the object argument. This reflects the structure of the clause proposed by Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1993). According to this concept of 'the layered structure of the clause', the clause is composed of: a 'nucleus' which contains the predicate; the 'core' which consists of the predicate and its core arguments; and the outermost layer is the 'periphery', which contains adjunctual information about the setting of the situation described by the clause.

<u>Periphery</u>	<u>Core</u>	<u>Nucleus</u>	<u>Core</u>	<u>Periphery</u>
ADJUNCT	SUBJECT	PREDICATE	OBJECT	ADJUNCT

Example (19) demonstrates a transitive clause which includes all elements, with a temporal adjunct occurring clause initially, and a locational adjunct occurring clause finally. It is possible for more than one adjunct to occur in either adjunct slot, as seen in (20), and discussed in §3.7.

- 19) **Bagataha tangaloi ra=ni loli na hinaga Lovusi.**  
 today people 3NSGS=IRR make ACC food Lovusi  
*Today the people will make a feast at Lovusi.*

- 20) **Ra=ru mo hivo kakarani lobe na tahi...**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down close near ACC sea  
*The two of them went down close to the sea...*

(VML037)

For those predicates which can take a complement clause, the complement clause standing in place of the object argument occurs in the same position as an object NP would (21). The exception to this is where there is a dative oblique argument, in which case this can occur before the object complement clause (22).

- 21) **Neu no=mo tarani vo na=ni tomu.**  
 1SG 1SGS=REAL want say 1SGS=IRR tell.story  
*I want to tell a traditional story.*

(VLL004)

- 22) **Mo veve lawe=eu huri vo na=ni mese hage.**  
 REAL tell DAT=1SGO COMP say 1SGS=IRR DEHOR go.up  
*S/he told me that I shouldn't go up.*



## 3.4.3 CASE MARKING FUNCTIONS OF ARTICLES

The head noun within an NP is generally (§5.6) determined by an article. The articles have several different functions, and three of them have a case marking function, although the marking of case is optional in some situations. The three cases marked by articles are:

- *na* accusative case (23)
- *a* nominative case (24)
- *lo* locative case (25)

- 23) **Go=luqe      bibi na gai      ngihie gene na qana.**  
 2SGS=wrap    tight ACC wood    that    INST    ACC    mat  
*Wrap the log tightly with the mat.*

(MD027)

- 24) **...a bubusi    mo    vomai...**  
 NOM    gun      REAL come  
*...guns came...*

(LTD011)

- 25) **Ra=ru      mo    hivo,      ra=ru      mo    bulu lo tahi.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down 3NSGS=DL REAL join    LOC    sea  
*The two of them went down and reached the sea.*

(DTT045)

While I state that these articles mark case, there are other factors involved which determine the use of the articles. It is thus important here to outline the rules which apply in using articles, to give an understanding of the extent to which the function of these articles is to mark case. There are seven articles, and they have combined roles of marking: subclass of the noun; whether the referent is human; plurality; definiteness or specificity and case. The factors which determine which article will occur are basically addressed in the following order:

- If the referent is plural and human, it can optionally be determined by the plural human article *re*, or *ire* 'all (human)', regardless of grammatical function;
- If the NP head is a proper noun, it can only be determined by the personal article *i*, regardless of grammatical function;
- If the NP is in O function, and the referent is indefinite, the head noun can optionally be determined by *tea* 'some';
- If the NP occurs within the VP or a PP (ie the NP functions either as a direct object or the object of a preposition and is clause internal, not a topic), the head noun must be determined by the accusative case article *na* unless the referent is nonspecific, particularly if the NP contains a possessive construction (§7.8);

- If the NP head is a common noun which has a locative function, but this is not specified by a preposition, it is determined by the locative case article *lo*;
- If none of the above conditions apply (ie the NP has a common noun as its head and is in either A or S function or is an NP in a nonverbal clause), then the head noun may be marked by the nominative article *a*.

These conditions may seem fairly complicated, but the important facts which need to be stated relate to the status of the three proposed case articles, considering that they do not always occur in an NP which has the function indicated by the case. The indefinite and plural articles *tea*, *re* and *ire* are optional, and as a noun can only be determined by one article, if any one of these occurs, the case marking articles cannot. Further, the personal article *i* is the only one of the articles which can determine a proper noun. Otherwise, one of the case marking articles may occur.

Note that the articles *na* and *a* would appear to be reflexes of the articles *\*na* and *\*a* which have been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic. While Crowley (1985) does reconstruct some variability between *\*na* and *\*a*, he proposes that they in fact represent allomorphs of a single morpheme. The syntactic distinction between the two articles which occurs in Ambae could in that case be an innovation, although it is also possible that this presents evidence that there was actually a syntactic distinction between the two articles in Proto Oceanic.

#### 3.4.3.1 ACCUSATIVE CASE *na*

*Na* has a dual function, marking both accusative case and specificity. To some extent *na* marks case, as it only ever occurs before object arguments, but as it doesn't always occur before objects, clearly accusative case is not consistently marked. Note that my use of the term accusative here is slightly unorthodox, as it covers not only those nouns which are governed by a verb, but also those which are governed by a preposition.

Those instances where *na* does not occur are where the object referent is nonspecific. The following examples contrast meanings with and without *na*. In (26) where *na* does not occur, the object is marked as being indefinite and generic. Alternatively it could be marked as being indefinite with the article *tea* as in (27). On the other hand, in (28) where *na* occurs, the object is specific and definite. However, the object referent could still be indefinite in some cases where *na* occurs (29), and it does occur when indefiniteness is specified by modification of the head noun with the numeral *gatigale* 'one' (30). The use of the article to denote specificity and definiteness in possessive constructions is discussed in detail in 7.8.

- 26)    **Ngire ra=mo**            **loli**    **hinaga**.  
       3NSG 3NSGS=REAL    make   food  
       *They made food.*

- 27) **Ngire ra=mo loli tea hinaga.**  
 3NSG 3NSGS=REAL make some food  
*They made some food.*
- 28) **Ngire ra=mo loli na hinaga.**  
 3NSG 3NSGS=REAL make ACC food  
*They made the food.*
- 29) **Ne=vile na matui.**  
 2NSGS=collect ACC coconut  
*Collect a/the/some coconuts.*
- 30) **Nu lehi na tangaloi gatigale.**  
 1SGS:TEL see ACC person NUM:one  
*I saw someone/a person.*
- 31) **Ngire ra=mo loli ga-ra hinaga.**  
 3NSG 3NSGS=REAL make CL.FOOD-3NSGP food  
*They made some food for themselves.*
- 32) **Ngire ra=mo loli na ga-ra hinaga.**  
 3NSG 3NSGS=REAL make ACC CL.FOOD-3NSGP food  
*They made their food.*

### 3.4.3.2 NOMINATIVE CASE A

Considering that the arguments of the predicate are clearly specified by strict word order and indexing in the VP, additional identification of grammatical relations by case marking may seem redundant. In fact, its redundancy can be observed by the fact that the nominative article *a*, is falling out of use. In the dialect of Lombaha *a* is regularly used, whereas in the dialect of Lolovoli it rarely occurs, and many younger speakers state that its use is ungrammatical when asked.

The nominative article is somewhat of a default article. It determines nouns which are in A or S function, or are functioning as the predicate in a nonverbal clause. Example (33) is in the Lombaha dialect, and note that those Lolovoli speakers who do use the nominative article are more likely to use it to determine nonverbal predicates, than subjects. Sentence (34) was uttered by a 40 year old Lolovoli man, but was considered ungrammatical by a 20 year old Lolovoli woman, who stated that the article is ‘Lombaha language’, and found none of the sentences which I tested with her to be grammatical.

- 33)    **A    tangaloi hi<sup>2</sup>    mo    labe.**  
       NOM person    that    REAL stand  
       *That person is standing.*
- 34)    **A    vavine ngaha a    vavine mwalakelo.**  
       NOM woman this        NOM woman youth  
       *This woman is a young woman.*

### 3.4.3.3 LOCATIVE CASELO

Common nouns (35) and relational location nouns (36) can be determined by the locative case article *lo*, when functioning as the head of a locative NP. Locative NPs are clearly adjuncts, not core arguments, as they cannot be indexed in the VP. They are discussed in detail with other adjuncts, in §6, including justification for treating *lo* as a case marking article rather than a preposition. The primary justification can be observed from the examples below, which show that the head noun in a locative NP cannot be determined by the accusative article *na*, as it is in prepositional phrases, due to the fact that *lo* itself is an article.

- 35)    **Ga=hi                vano tea lo vale lawagi...**  
       1NSG.EXS=NEG go        NEG LOC house too.much  
       *We didn't go to the house very often...*
- 36)    **Ngire ra=u            toga lo    vava-i        takure.**  
       3NSG 3NSGS=TEL live LOC under-CONST sago.palm  
       *They lived underneath sago palm trees.*

(SN1.004)

(SS004)

## 3.5 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

It should be clear from the above discussion that, as arguments in A and S function are treated the same grammatically, in opposition to O arguments, Ambae differentiates the two grammatical relations, subject and object, which can be identified by constituent order, indexing in the VP, and case marking.

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2 The demonstrative *hi* 'that' is also a feature of the Lombaha dialect, and does not occur in the Lolovoli dialect.

### 3.5.1 SUBJECT

The subject relation is easily identified by virtue of the fact that:

- it is obligatorily indexed by a subject proclitic which attaches to the first element of the VP, and is specified for person and number of the subject;
- the NP expressing the subject argument must directly precede the VP; and
- the subject NP can be marked for case, with the nominative article *a*.

### 3.5.2 OBJECT

The object relation is identified as the argument which:

- occurs within the VP, either as an enclitic attached to the verb or adverb, or as an NP which follows the verbal predicate;
- If the object argument is an NP with a common noun as its head, it must be determined by the article *na*, which specifies accusative case.

## 3.6 OBLIQUE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS

Oblique arguments are those which cannot be indexed on the verb. This category includes all nominals which are marked for locative case, and those which are marked for accusative case as the object of a preposition rather than a transitive verb. There are no oblique arguments which are subcategorised for by the verb. That is to say, only the subject and object argument in Ambae are complements, all oblique arguments are adjuncts. We thus do not distinguish between obliques and other adjuncts, and all are discussed below.

There are a number of extended transitive verbs, which predictably take a dative/benefactive object (§4.4.4). However even with these verbs, the argument is not indexed in the VP, and does not obligatorily occur, so the oblique argument is still considered to be an adjunct.

## 3.7 ADJUNCTS

Elements which can occur as adjuncts within the clause are: locative NPs, temporals, adverbs, prepositional phrases, adverbial clauses, and verificationals. However, rather than classifying adjuncts according to syntactic type, here they are discussed in terms of their semantic function, whether they be temporal, locational, manner, or circumstantial adjuncts, or verificationals. Adverbial clauses are discussed in detail in §14, and prepositional phrases and other adjuncts are discussed in §6.

### 3.7.1 TEMPORAL ADJUNCTS

The types of temporal adjuncts which occur are:

- words belonging to the class of temporals (37);
- temporal adverbs (38);
- demonstratives (39);
- common nouns marked for locative case (40); and
- temporal adverbial clauses (41).

37) Gaqarigi da=ni va logo?  
a.while 1NSG.EXS=IRR go where  
*Where are we going to go later on?*

38) Mo siro=e tamwere...  
REAL visit=3SGO always  
*She visited it all the time...*

(SW1.005)

39) Ngaha no=vo na=ni tomu.  
now 1SGS=say 1SGS=IRR tell.story  
*Now I want to tell a traditional story.*

(LWM003)

40) Ale lo-lo taro ngihie ra=u vei na gineu sao.  
so REDUP-LOC time that 3NSGS=TEL do ACC thing many  
*So at this time they did many things.*

(MN017)

41) Tauvohea go=mo mule, go=ni veve=a lawe=a.  
when 2SGS=REAL go.home 2SGS=IRR tell=3SGO DAT=3SGO  
*When you go home, you must tell her/him.*

The previous examples mostly show temporal adjuncts occurring clause initially. However they are not restricted in their distribution: all types can occur either clause initially (42), or finally (43).

42) Vataha bongi mo wehe=a.  
every day REAL beat=3SGO  
*Every day he beat her.*

(VLL011)

- 43) **Mo inu malogu vataha bongi, vataha bongi.**  
 REAL drink kava every day every day  
*He drinks kava every day, every day.*

Temporal adjuncts can refer to an event which takes place either at a particular point in time (44) or over a certain time period (45).

- 44) **Mo maraga lolo robongi...**  
 REAL get.up in morning  
*He got up in the morning...*

(LWM006)

- 45) **..lolo bongi ra=u sawa.**  
 in night 3NSGS=TEL k.o.dance  
*...in the night they danced the 'sawa'.*

(MN019)

- 46) **Bongi gatigale higo mo hivo lo tahi.**  
 day NUM:one kingfisher REAL go.down LOC sea  
*One day kingfisher went down to the sea.*

(SGH005)

### 3.7.2 LOCATIONAL ADJUNCTS

Locational adjuncts specify the spatial setting of the situation described in the clause. The constituents which can function as a locational adjunct are:

- a locative NP which has a common noun as its head, marked for locative case (47);
- a locative NP which has a relational location noun as its head, marked for locative case (48);
- a locative NP which consists of an absolute location noun (49);
- a directional functioning as an absolute location noun (50); or
- a prepositional phrase with a locative preposition as the head (51). Direction can also be specified with a prepositional phrase which has an allative or ablative preposition as its head.

- 47) **Hine mo doro lo ara?**  
 who REAL knock LOC fence  
*Who is knocking on the fence?*

(BR006)

- 48) **Mo huru na avi lo vava-i Mwerabuto ngihie.**  
 REAL light ACC fire LOC under-CONST devil that  
*He lit a fire underneath Mwerabuto (a devil).*

(JW074)

- 49) **...mo titi aulu dene na tano.**  
 REAL hang high ABL ACC ground  
*...he hung up high from the ground.*

(JW075)

- 50) **Hine mo hue-hue aka hivo-lehe?**  
 who REAL REDUP-paddle canoe down-DIST  
*Who is paddling a canoe down there?*

(LS1.009)

- 51) **I Catriona mo vanai lobe-da.**  
 PERS Catriona REAL come near-1NSG.INP  
*Catriona came to be with us.*

(LD015)

Locational adjuncts most commonly occur clause finally, as the previous examples all indicate. However, it is possible in some instances for a locational adjunct to occur at the beginning of the clause (52), but only if the clause describes an event taking place in a location, not motion to a location.

- 52) **Hage-lehe Australia ra=mo gani qeta?**  
 up-DIST Australia 3NSGS=REAL eat taro  
*Up there in Australia do they eat taro?*

The following sentence shows an example of two locational adjuncts, an absolute location noun and a common noun marked for locative case, occurring in clause final position.

- 53) **...mo=vo na=hage na=vi-viho-gi aulu lo mena-i**  
 REAL=say 3SGS=go.up 3SGS=REDUP-dry-APPL high LOC ripe-CONST  
**garawelu.**  
 k.o.banana  
*...it wanted to go up and dry out up high on a ripe banana.*

(JG005)



## 3.7.3 MANNER ADJUNCTS

Manner adjuncts give information about the way in which the event described by the verb is performed (54), or they can specify comparative information if the clause is stative (55).

- 54) **Ne=mese      vai=e      mwere ngihie.**  
 2NSGS=DEHOR do=3SGO like that  
*Don't do it like that.*

- 55) **Bite      ra=u      mevute mwere ngire tuturani.**  
 albino 3NSGS=TEL white like 3NSG white.person  
*Albinos are white like white people.*

The elements which can function as manner adjuncts are:

- manner adverbs (56);
- prepositional phrases of manner with *mwere* 'like' as the head (57); and
- manner adverbial clauses introduced by the subordinator *mwere* 'like' (58).

- 56) **Mo      gato      siseri.**  
 REAL speak quickly  
*She speaks quickly.*

- 57) **Mo      ga-gani      mwere na boe.**  
 REAL REDUP-eat like ACC pig  
*She eats like a pig.*

- 58) **Go=mo      inu wain      mwere go=mo inu malogu.**  
 2SGS=REAL drink wine like 2SGS=REAL drink kava  
*You drink wine like you drink kava.*

## 3.7.4 CIRCUMSTANTIAL ADJUNCTS

Circumstantial adjuncts are discussed together as a residual group of adjuncts that specify information about the setting surrounding the event of the clause which is neither temporal nor spatial. Circumstantial adjuncts are either prepositional phrases or adverbial clauses. The PP and adverbial clause types which can function as circumstantial adjuncts are:

- a PP with the ablative preposition *dene* as the head (59);
- a PP with the preposition *gahe* 'alone, by oneself' as the head (60);
- a PP with the instrumental preposition *gene/gi* as the head (61);

- a PP with the purposive preposition *huri* as the head (62);
- a PP with the dative/benefactive preposition *lawe* as the head (64);
- a PP with the comitative/confective preposition *me* as the head (65);
- a purpose clause (63);
- a reason clause (66); or
- a conditional clause (67).

59) **Ngire tau tuei ra=u huire dene gide.**  
 3NSG DEN before 3NSGS=TEL strong ABL 1NSG.IN  
*The people from before were stronger than us.*

(AA061)

60) **Na=ni toga gahe=eu.**  
 1SGS=IRR live by.oneself=1SGO  
*I will live by myself.*

61) **Mo matagu gene tamate ngihie..**  
 REAL afraid INST devil that  
*She was afraid of the devil...*

(SW1.037)

62) **Go=mo hamai huri na havai?**  
 2SGS=REAL go.up.to.sp PURP ACC what  
*What have you come up for?*

(DTT026)

63) **Hate, na=ni tataro huri gide da=ni mwaso.**  
 no 1SGS=IRR pray PURP 1NSG.IN 1NSG.IN=IRR live  
*No, I'll pray for us to live.*

(LV)

64) **...ne=ri teu=e lawe na mwera.**  
 2NSGS=DL:IRR put=3SGO DAT ACC man  
*...the two of you will give her away to a man.*

(RT011)

65) **Go=vanai me na no-ku bue.**  
 2SGS=go.to.sp CON ACC CL.GEN-1SGP knife  
*Come here with my knife.*

- 66) ...**da=vo** 'ango' ngihie **bana angoga-gi.**  
 INSG.INS=say turmeric that because yellow-NR  
*we say that's 'ango' (turmeric) because it is 'angoga' (yellow).*  
 (MD068)

- 67) **Ngie vo da=ni hivo lo tahi, ne=ni lehi na**  
 and if INSG.INS=IRR go.down LOC sea 2NSGS=IRR see ACC  
**burie...**  
 bêche.de.mer  
*And if we go down to the sea, you'll see the bêche de mer...*  
 (DTT049)

The positioning of circumstantial adjuncts within the clause is more strict than with other adjuncts. Reason clauses can occur either clause initially (68) or finally (although more commonly finally (66)), conditional clauses must occur clause initially, but all other circumstantial adjuncts must occur clause finally, as the above examples demonstrate.

- 68) **Bana mo uhe, da=hi hage tea lo-lo Manaro.**  
 because REAL rain INSG.INS=NEG go.up NEG REDUP-LOC Manaro  
*Because it rained, we didn't go up to Manaro.*  
 (96.99)

### 3.7.5 VERIFICATIONALS

Verificationals occur at the clause periphery, typically clause initially. The verificational *daga* (71) is the only one which occurs clause finally. The meaning and function of these forms is discussed briefly in §4.21.

- 69) **Bataha vi=ni hage me=a lo tano-na...**  
 I.think 3SG.IRRS=IRR go.up CON=3SGO LOC place-3SGP  
*I think that she will go up with it to her place...*  
 (MB009)

- 70) **Bavo Maue mo huri na ahi.**  
 I.reckon Maue REAL sing ACC song  
*I reckon that's Maue singing a song.*  
 (DM058)

- 71) **Ra=u vano beno daga.**  
 3NSGS=TEL go already I'd.say  
*They've already gone, I'd say.*

## 3.8 TOPIC FRONTING

Any constituent of the clause can be fronted to an extra-clausal initial position, to indicate that it is the topic. Most commonly it is the direct object argument which is fronted (72). However subjects (73) and oblique objects (74-75) can also be fronted.

- 72)    ...garivi ngihie, malogu mo wehe=a.  
           rat     that     kava     REAL hit=3SGO  
           *...that rat, the kava was affecting it.*

(EK046)

- 73)    Tangaloi ngire, ra=u           haro       na     gineu.  
           people     3NSG 3NSGS=TEL not.know   ACC thing  
           *Those people, they don't know anything.*

- 74)    Gai, da=vanai               me=a...  
           wood 1NSG.INS=go:to.sp CON=3SGO  
           *The log, we come with it...*

(MD009)

- 75)    No-ku               bue, na=ni       tei na     bue     gene=a.  
           CL:GEN-1SGP knife 1SGS=IRR chop ACC bamboo INST=3SGO  
           *My knife, I'll chop down the bamboo with it.*

There are several factors which indicate that the topic position is extra-clausal:

- There is an intonation break between the topic NP and the start of the clause (indicated by a comma);
- Topics are never marked for case, whereas objects (obligatorily) and subjects (optionally) are marked for case within the clause; and
- If the topic is a direct or oblique object, then the object is indexed within the clause. The topic must therefore be extra-clausal, as there is a restriction that objects may be marked only once within the clause.

As the subject argument within a clause can be expressed by an NP as well as being indexed on the verb, and the subject NP is often clause initial, when a subject is fronted, this can only be distinguished from an intra-clausal subject NP, by the intonation break. However, if the speaker is truly wishing to indicate that the subject is topic, then the intonation break can be lengthened.

When a possessive relationship is being expressed, the possessor (i.e. dependent noun) can occur in clause initial topic position, and the possessee (i.e. head noun) is still expressed in

an NP within the clause, with the possessor marked as a pronominal possessive suffix on the head noun. Examples of this are shown with a subject (76) and object (77) argument.

- 76) ...higo, banihi-ne mo wiri-wiri.  
kingfisher wing-3SGP REAL REDUP-tired  
*...kingfisher, its wings were tired.*

(SGH036)

- 77) Netu-ku, giriu u gesi na lima-na.  
offspring-1SGP dog TEL bite ACC arm-3SGP  
*My daughter, a dog bit her arm.*

There are no restrictions on modification of the head noun within the fronted NP, as (78) shows, where the head noun is modified by a relative clause.

- 78) Rivu-rivu ngihie hena-na mwetarigelegi, garivi ngihie mo  
REDUP-plant REL name-3SGP kava rat that REAL  
gani=e.  
eat=3SGO  
*The plant called 'mwetarigelegi', the rat ate it.*

(EK045)

Sentence (79) shows an example where the fronted NP represents the object argument of a complement clause embedded in the main clause.

- 79) ...gineu gatawale ngaha, no=mo lehi huri vo neu no=mos  
thing NUM:one this 1SGS=REAL see COMP say 1SG 1SGS=REAL  
bei lehe=a vage.  
just see=3SGO too  
*...this thing, I see that I have only just seen it too.*

(EK057)

# 4

## Word classes

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### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

There are two open classes of words in Ambae, nominals and verbs. Adjectives are a subclass of verbs. Those forms which can function attributively to modify a noun are all members of the subclass of stative-inchoative intransitive verbs. All remaining forms belong to the following closed classes: adverbs, temporals, general modifiers, quantifiers, numerals, pronominals, relational classifiers, directionals, demonstratives, articles, prepositions, verbal particles, negative particles, subordinators, conjunctions, verificationals, epistememes and interjections.

### 4.2 NOMINALS

The initial subclassification of the class of nominals distinguishes vocatives from all subclasses of nouns. This distinction is made on the basis that, while vocatives can be classed as nominals due to the fact that they have a referential function, they are not nouns as they cannot function as the head of an NP. For our purposes, the definition of a noun is that it can function as the head of an NP which is a nominal argument in a verbal clause.

Subclasses of nouns are distinguished according to two main factors. Initially subclassification is based on their distribution and ability to cooccur with other constituents of the NP. The identifying characteristics of nouns which are taken into account are:

- which article can the noun be determined by, if any?
- can the noun be determined by a demonstrative?
- can the noun be modified by an adjectival verb?
- can the noun occur as an object of a preposition? If so, which prepositions?
- can the noun occur in a locative NP? If so, it can occur as the object of which prepositions, if any?
- which interrogative does the noun select?
- can the noun form the head of a relative clause?

Further, within each of the subclasses of proper, locational and common nouns, a distinction can be drawn between free and bound nouns. Bound nouns must occur either as the possessee in a direct possessive construction, with a possessive suffix or construct

suffix attached, or marked with the alienable suffix *-gi*, indicating that it is a bound noun occurring outside a possessive construction.

The various subclasses of nominals are shown in Table 4.1.

NOMINALS	Vocatives		
	NOUNS	Proper nouns	Personal names (free)
			Kinship terms (bound)
		Locational nouns	Absolute (free)
			Relational (bound)
		Common nouns	Free
			Bound

Table 4.1 Subclasses of nominals

#### 4.2.1 VOCATIVES

The subclass of vocatives comprises those nominals which are used as a form of address. That is, they do not occur as the head of an NP which functions as an argument in a verbal clause, and as such do not display many typical nominal characteristics, such as ability to be determined by an article or demonstrative, or modified by an adjectival verb. Likewise, they cannot function as the object of a preposition, or the head of a relative clause. All personal names are included in this subclass, as well as in the subclass of proper nouns. However, when they occur as vocatives they are not preceded by the personal article *i* (§4.2.2). The main reason for establishing a subclass of vocatives is to cater for those nominals which only occur as vocatives, and do not function as members of any other subclass of nominals. There are only a few of these forms, and they are forms which are used in place of normal kinship terms, for addressing particular relatives. These forms with their proper noun equivalents are:

<i>Bubu</i>	'Grandma, Grandpa' ( <i>tubu-</i> 'grandparent')
<i>Mama</i>	'Dad' ( <i>tama-</i> 'father')
<i>Bui</i>	'Mum' ( <i>retahi-</i> 'mother')
<i>Ede</i>	'Auntie' ( <i>ede-, retahi- bule- toa</i> 'aunt (father's sister)')

For those kin which do not have a distinct vocative form, the regular kinship terms can be used as vocatives, for example *tueku* '(my) sister, brother'. The second person pronouns, *niko* 'you (sg.)', and *gimiu* 'you (pl.)' can also occur as vocatives, however, in place of the dual form *gimiru*, *garue* meaning 'two' is used.

Also, *gineu*, which can function as a common noun meaning 'thing', can also be a vocative, used informally to address someone whose name you cannot remember, or who you may just informally be addressing as 'Thingamijig!'.

## 4.2.2 PROPER NOUNS

Proper nouns:

- are preceded by the personal article *i*. The personal article occurs only with proper nouns and independent pronouns. Whereas common nouns are only preceded by the common article *na* when they function as a direct object or object of a preposition, proper nouns are preceded by the personal article irrespective of grammatical function<sup>1</sup>;
- cannot be determined by a demonstrative;
- can be modified by an adjectival (stative-inchoative) verb (although this is quite rare);
- cannot occur as the head of a locative NP, determined by the locative article *lo*. Rather, proper nouns take the preposition *lu-* to express the meaning ‘on’, *tau lu-* to describe motion ‘onto’, and *lobe-* to express movement ‘to’ a person, or at a location ‘with’, or ‘near’ a person;
- can occur as the object of any of the verb-like prepositions, except *gahe* ‘alone, by oneself’, and the instrumental *gene*. There are two instrumental prepositions, *gene* functioning as the head of a prepositional phrase containing a common noun, and *gi* functioning as the head of a prepositional phrase which has a proper noun as its object;
- select the interrogative *hine* which is itself a proper noun;
- can form the head of a relative clause.

Proper nouns can be further subdivided into personal names and kinship terms, the former being free nouns and the latter being bound nouns.

## 4.2.2.1 PERSONAL NAMES

As a number of traditional personal names are derived from common nouns, the ambiguity between use of a form as a personal name, and the common noun meaning, is resolved on the basis of its occurrence with the personal article *i* (1) as opposed to the common article *na* (2), and as an object of the locative preposition *lu-* ‘on’ (3), as opposed to occurring in a locative NP determined by the article *lo* (4).

- 1)      **Go=mese      wehe      i      Toa.**  
          2SGS=DEHOR hit/kill    PERS Toa  
          *Don't hit/kill Toa.*

- 2)      **Go=mese      wehe      na      toa.**  
          2SGS=DEHOR hit/kill    ACC chicken  
          *Don't hit/kill the chicken.*

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<sup>1</sup> But refer to §5.6.4 for discussion of the fact that the personal article is falling out of use.



- 3)     **Mo   toga   lu-i                i        Tahi.**  
REAL sit    on-CONST   PERS Tahi  
*S/he/it sat/is sitting on Tahi.*
- 4)     **Mo   toga       lo   tahi.**  
REAL sit/live   LOC sea  
*S/he/it sat/is sitting/lived/lives at/on the sea.*

Some examples of common nouns which are also used as personal names are shown in Table 4.2.

Name	Meaning of common noun
<i>Aru</i>	‘casuarina’ (a male’s name)
<i>Boe</i>	‘pig’ (a male’s name)
<i>Moli</i>	‘citrus, first pig killing grade’ (a male or female’s name)
<i>Tahi</i>	‘sea’ (a male or female’s name)
<i>Toa</i>	‘chicken’ (a male’s name)
<i>Wai</i>	‘water’ (a male’s name)

Table 4.2 Personal names which also function as common nouns

Examples of traditional names which only occur as personal names are shown in Table 4.3. Today, most people are also given Christian names, and some examples are also shown in Table 4.3.

<i>Garae</i> (a male’s name)
<i>Tari</i> (a male’s name)
<i>Mweta</i> (a female’s name)
<i>Woi</i> (a female’s name)
<i>Margaret</i> (a female’s name)
<i>Kenneth</i> (a female’s name)
<i>Robert</i> (a male’s name)

Table 4.3 Traditional and Christian names

4.2.2.2 KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms function as proper nouns like personal names. However, they are bound nouns which must either occur in a direct possessive construction with a possessive or construct suffix attached, or, outside a direct possessive construction must be suffixed with the alienable suffix *-gi* (§7.3).

If a kinship term occurs in a plural NP, it is preceded by the plural human article *re*.

<i>retahi-</i>	'mother, mother's sister'
<i>tama-</i>	'father, father's brother'
<i>netu-</i>	'offspring'
<i>tue-</i>	'same sex sibling'
<i>haqe-</i>	'opposite sex sibling'
<i>tubu-</i>	'grandparent'
<i>vagabui-</i>	'grandchild'
<i>ede-</i>	'father's sister'
<i>toga-</i>	'mother's brother'

Table 4.4 Kinship terms

#### 4.2.3 LOCATIONAL NOUNS

Locational nouns are primarily distinguished by virtue of the fact that they only occur as the head of an NP which is either an adjunct, or the subject or predicate NP in a locational nonverbal clause (§13.4). The subclasses of locational nouns are primarily distinguished on the basis of whether or not they must be determined by the locative article *lo*.

Locational nouns are also distinguished due to the fact that:

- they cannot be modified by an adjectival verb;
- they select the interrogative (*tahi*)*logo*, which is an absolute location noun; and
- they cannot form the head of a relative clause.

##### 4.2.3.1 RELATIONAL LOCATION NOUNS

Relational location nouns always function as clausal adjuncts, as the head of a locative NP, determined by the locative article *lo*. Only relational nouns and common nouns can be determined by the article *lo*. Relational nouns are bound nouns which must occur in a direct possessive construction, or marked with the alienable suffix *-gi*. Many relational nouns can also function as bound common nouns. All members of this small subclass of locational nouns are listed in Table 4.5.

The relational nouns *tagu-* 'behind' and *livuge-* 'middle' can also occur in a temporal phrase, determined by the locative article *lo*. These are, however, the only forms in this subclass which can have this additional function; the semantic opposites of *tagu-*, *nago-* and *mue-*, both meaning 'front of', cannot occur in temporal phrases.

<i>ulu-</i>	'above, top of'
<i>vava-</i>	'under, below'
<i>nago-</i>	'front of'
<i>mue-</i>	'front of'
<i>tagu-</i>	'behind, back of'
<i>lolo-</i>	'inside'
<i>mawiri-</i>	'left'
<i>matue-</i>	'right'
<i>tavalu-</i>	'side'
<i>duvi-</i>	'end'
<i>maho-</i>	'part'
<i>mwarara-</i>	'side(line)'
<i>livuge-</i>	'middle'
<i>neki-</i>	'side'
<i>bobo-</i>	'edge'
<i>vito-</i>	'edge'

Table 4.5 Relational location nouns

## 4.2.3.2 ABSOLUTE LOCATION NOUNS

The subclass of absolute location nouns includes a small set of nouns used for spatial reference, deictic forms distinguishing 'here' and 'there' (there is also a separate class of directionals, the members of which function, among other things, as absolute location nouns (§4.12)), and all place names, whether they be: overseas countries; islands (e.g. *Ambae*, *Maewo*, *Bakis* 'the Banks islands') or towns (e.g. *Vila*, *Santo*) in Vanuatu; or, of course, places on Ambae itself. Note that a number of local place names, including the name of the island of Ambae itself, start with *a*, which is a reflex of the Proto Oceanic personal article *\*(q)a* (Pawley 1972), for example, *Ambaka*, and *Ataleva*. Most commonly however, Ambae place names start with the locative article *lo(lo)*, as the original meaning of these place names is 'at the place of X'. Some examples are:

<i>Lombaha</i>	'at the place of many creeks'
<i>Lolomatui</i>	'at the place of the coconuts'
<i>Lolowai</i>	'at the place of the water'
<i>Lovuinibaka</i>	'at the place of the banyan tree'
<i>Lovuinimaqe</i>	'at the place of the Tahitian chestnut tree'
<i>Lovusi</i>	'on the hill'

The seven other absolute location nouns which are used to locate reference points in the speakers' environment are listed in Table 4.6.

<i>aulu</i>	'up high, on top'
<i>vine</i>	'down low'
<i>atagu</i>	'behind, at the back'
<i>amue</i>	'infront, at the front'
<i>aute</i>	'up in the bush'
<i>alau</i>	'down by the sea'
<i>varea</i>	'outside'
<i>vagahao</i>	'far away'

Table 4.6 Absolute location nouns

Note that five of these forms, *aulu*, *atagu*, *amue*, *aute*, and *alau*, also begin with the *a*, like certain place names. Observe also the irregularity of this subclass; *varea* 'outside' is an absolute location noun, but its semantic opposite *lolo*- 'inside' is a relational noun. Likewise, *ulu*- 'above, top of', *tagu*- 'behind, back of', and *mue*- 'front of' are members of the subclass of relational nouns, and occur as absolute location nouns when prefixed with *a*. However, the semantic opposite of *ulu*- 'above, top of', *vava* 'below' cannot occur as an absolute noun (*\*avava*), instead we have the unrelated form *vine* 'down low'. Likewise, only *mue*- meaning 'front of' can be prefixed with *a* and enter the subclass of absolute location nouns, but not its synonym *nago*- (*\*anago*). *Aute* 'up in the bush', and *alau* 'down by the sea' only occur as absolute location nouns.

There are several absolute location nouns which distinguish the proximal and distal locations, 'here' and 'there'. The details of Ambae's system of spatial reference are discussed in §8, but the relevant forms are:

<i>tau</i>	'here'
<i>tahingaha</i>	'here'
<i>hano</i>	'here'
<i>tahu</i>	'there'
<i>aehe</i>	'here' (anaphoric)
<i>taehe</i>	'there' (anaphoric)

4.2.4 COMMON NOUNS

Common nouns:

- can be preceded by the accusative article *na* if they function as a direct object, or as the object of a preposition;
- may<sup>2</sup> be preceded by the nominative article *a* if functioning as the subject argument in a verbal clause, or as a nominal argument in a nonverbal clause;

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2 I say 'may', as this article is falling out of use (§5.6.2).

- must be determined by the locative case article *lo*, when functioning in a locative NP as a clausal adjunct;
- can be determined by a demonstrative;
- can be modified by a member of the subclass of adjectival verbs;
- have most options of any of the subclasses of nouns for functioning as the object of a preposition, functioning as the object of the locative preposition, *lobe*, or of any of the verb-like prepositions, except the instrumental *gi*, which can only have a proper noun as its object. Common nouns can thus function as the object of the ablative preposition, *dene*, the instrumental, *gene*, the purposive, *huri*, the dative/benefactive, *lawe* and the confective *me*;
- select the interrogative *havai*, which is itself a free common noun; and
- can form the head of a relative clause.

The subclass of common nouns is further divided into free and bound nouns.

#### 4.2.4.1 FREE COMMON NOUNS

Free common nouns form the largest subclass of any of the subclasses of nouns. Some examples can be seen in Table 4.7.

<i>ahi</i>	‘song’	<i>mwasi</i>	‘fruit’
<i>bageo</i>	‘shark’	<i>navo</i>	‘wave’
<i>daweu</i>	‘coconut crab’	<i>one</i>	‘sand’
<i>duvu</i>	‘grass’	<i>qeta</i>	‘taro’
<i>garo</i>	‘rope’	<i>rani</i>	‘day’
<i>hinaga</i>	‘food’	<i>sara</i>	‘field’
<i>ige</i>	‘fish’	<i>talū</i>	‘garden’
<i>kio</i>	‘dolphin’	<i>uhe</i>	‘rain’
<i>labute</i>	‘bush’	<i>vavine</i>	‘woman’
<i>malanga</i>	‘cave’	<i>woro</i>	‘coconut milk’

Table 4.7 Free common nouns

#### 4.2.4.2 BOUND COMMON NOUNS

Bound common nouns must occur either in a direct possessive construction, or marked with the alienable suffix *-gi* (§7.3).

The large majority of words in this subclass are body part terms, plus other part-whole relations and a few personal attributes (§7.3). Some examples can be seen in Table 4.8. While the addition of new free common nouns into the language is observed more than the addition of new forms into the subclass of bound common nouns, this subclass is

nevertheless an open class. This can be evidenced by such borrowings from Bislama as *titi*-‘breasts’.

<i>bisu-</i>	‘finger’	<i>qara-</i>	‘spider’s web’
<i>dilo-</i>	‘voice’	<i>ranga-</i>	‘branch’
<i>gainihere-</i>	‘back(bone)’	<i>rau-</i>	‘leaf’
<i>hena-</i>	‘name’	<i>suru-</i>	‘mucus’
<i>karu-</i>	‘leg, foot’	<i>sao-</i>	‘effect’
<i>lihe-</i>	‘nit (louse egg)’	<i>tamte-</i>	‘spirit’
<i>mabu-</i>	‘breath, chest’	<i>ulu-</i>	‘height’
<i>nago-</i>	‘face’	<i>vinu-</i>	‘skin, bark’
<i>ngoli-</i>	‘shoot’	<i>wainimata-</i>	‘tears’

Table 4.8 Bound common nouns

### 4.3 TEMPORALS

The members of the subclass of temporals are defined by the following characteristics:

- they can only function as clausal adjuncts and as the subject of a nonverbal clause, not as a nominal argument of a verbal clause;
- they cannot be determined by an article or demonstrative;
- they cannot be modified by adjectival verbs;
- they can only function as an object of the preposition *tau* ‘from (denizen of)’;
- they select the interrogative *tagaha* ‘when?’ which is itself a temporal; and
- they cannot form the head of a relative clause.

This is a small subclass of words, and a complete list can be found in Table 4.9.

<i>bagataha</i>	‘today’
<i>mamingaha</i>	‘today’
<i>mavugo</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>nainoa</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>waihe</i>	‘two days or more from now’
<i>nawaihe</i>	‘two days or more before now’
<i>tuei</i>	‘long ago’
<i>tomue</i>	‘before, first’
<i>gaqarigi</i>	‘today, but a long time either before or after now’
<i>(siseri)ngaha</i>	‘now’
<i>bongibongi</i>	‘morning’
<i>tagaha</i>	‘when’

Table 4.9 Temporals

## 4.4 VERBS

A verb in Ambae is defined by the fact that it can occur as the head of a verb phrase. That is, it can be preceded by a subject proclitic which is marked for person and number of the subject of the clause, and which can cliticise to verbal particles, which specify the aspect and mood of the clause. As the head of a verb phrase, all verbs can take a subject noun phrase except those which are members of the small subclass of meteorological verbs. A transitive verb can also have an object enclitic attached.

Verbs can be assigned to various subclasses according to three main factors:

- the transitivity of the verb;
- whether the verb is stative-inchoative or active; and
- whether the verb is A-type or O-type.

In terms of transitivity, in Ambae there are five possibilities for classification according to the valency of the unmarked verb, and options for valency increase or decrease. A verb may:

- have only an intransitive form; or
- be intransitive in its unmarked form, but can be marked to indicate a valency increase; or
- be ambitransitive (can be both intransitive and transitive with the same form); or
- have only a transitive form; or
- be transitive in its unmarked form, but can be marked to indicate a valency decrease.

Apart from five exceptions (§4.4.3), the stative-inchoative-active distinction is only relevant for intransitive verbs, as transitive verbs are, on the whole, active. The subclass of stative-inchoative verbs is so named because these verbs refer to a state when marked for telic aspect, but a process when marked for realis or irrealis mood (§9.5.5).

The division into A-type versus O-type verbs is important for those intransitive verbs which can be marked for an increase in valency, and those transitive verbs which can be marked for a decrease in valency (Dixon 1988). A-type intransitive verbs are those for which the subject of the intransitive verb (S) becomes the agent (A) of the derived transitive, and the introduced argument is in object (O) function. On the other hand, with O-type intransitives, the S becomes the O of the derived form, and the introduced argument is in A function. Using the same terminology to describe transitive verbs, the A of an A-type transitive remains as the sole argument of the derived intransitive form of the verb, whereas in the case of the O-type verbs, the remaining argument of the derived verb, in S function, represents the O argument of the original transitive. An analysis of the processes of valency rearrangement is discussed in §11.

The various subclasses of verbs are summarised in Table 4.10.

INTRANSITIVE	Stative- inchoative (Adjectival verb)	Have no transitive form
		O-type. Take causative prefix <i>vaga-</i>
	Active	A-type. Take applicative suffix <i>-Ci</i>
		A-type. Take applicative suffix <i>-gi(ni)</i>
		O-type. Take causative suffix <i>-tagi(ni)</i>
		Have no transitive form
AMBI- TRANSITIVE	A-type	
	O-type	
TRANSITIVE	O-type. Take anticausative prefix <i>ma-</i> (or <i>ta-</i> )	
	A-type. Reduplicated to form intransitive	
	Have no intransitive form (both unmarked transitive and those with <i>-Ci</i> or <i>-gi(ni)</i> but no intransitive form.)	
Extended TRANSITIVE	Take O of DAT/BEN preposition. Have no intransitive form	

Table 4.10 Subclasses of verbs

#### 4.4.1 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs take only one obligatory argument, which is in S function. The initial division of the subclass of intransitives is into stative-inchoative and active verbs. Some subclasses of intransitive verbs can be marked for an increase in valency.

##### 4.4.1.1 STATIVE-INCHOATIVE VERBS

While the distinction between active and stative-inchoative verbs is basically a semantic one, contrasting those verbs which describe an event, with those which denote a state or process, this subclassification can be justified on morphosyntactic grounds. The defining characteristics of stative-inchoative verbs are as follows:

- They cannot take the applicative suffix(es);
- The function of aspect-mood marking differs with active and stative-inchoative verbs, in that if a stative-inchoative verb is marked for realis or irrealis mood then the verb is inchoative, referring to a process, or change in state, while if the verb is marked for telic aspect, it refers to a state (§9.5.5);
- They can modify nouns in the noun phrase, and thus all members of this subclass of verbs also represent the subclass of adjectival verbs;
- They can be nominalised with the suffix *-gi* (§5.4.7);
- An imperative cannot be formed with a stative-inchoative verb; and
- In terms of semantic roles, the subject of a stative-inchoative verb is always an undergoer rather than actor.



There are two subclasses of stative-inchoative verbs; the members of one have no transitive counterpart, while members of the other can be causativised (O-type).

#### 4.4.1.1.1 STATIVE-INCHOATIVE VERBS WITH NO TRANSITIVE FORM

The majority of stative-inchoative verbs cannot be marked for an increase in valency to derive a transitive verb. Some examples of these verbs can be seen in Table 4.11.

<i>garea</i>	'to be/become good, improve'
<i>hasi</i>	'to be/become bad, worsen'
<i>biti</i>	'to be/become small'
<i>lague</i>	'to be/become big'
<i>bibilu</i>	'to be/become wet'
<i>mamaha</i>	'to be/become dry'
<i>tatarese</i>	'to be/become the same'
<i>dolue</i>	'to be/become different'
<i>mava</i>	'to be/become heavy'
<i>mamarae</i>	'to be/become light'
<i>bongi</i>	'to be/become night'
<i>rani</i>	'to be/become day'
<i>dodo</i>	'to be/become dark'
<i>leleo</i>	'to be/become light'
<i>bue</i>	'to be/become deep, high tide'
<i>manivivini</i>	'to be/become shallow, low tide, thin'
<i>lulumu</i>	'to be/become sweet, good tasting'
<i>gogona</i>	'to be/become salty, bitter, bad tasting'
<i>kulo</i>	'to be/become round'
<i>makenikeni</i>	'to be/become sharp'
<i>mavute</i>	'to be white, whiten'
<i>maeto</i>	'to be black, blacken'
<i>memea</i>	'to be red, redden'
<i>mena</i>	'to be ripe, ripen'
<i>manoga</i>	'to be/become cooked'
<i>rovo</i>	'to be/become finished, finish'
<i>sege</i>	'to be sick'

Table 4.11 Stative-inchoative verbs with no transitive form

#### 4.4.1.1.2 O-TYPE STATIVE-INCHOATIVE VERBS

O-type stative-inchoative verbs can take the causative prefix to form a transitive verb (§11.3.2.2). There are few verbs in this subclass; all those known are listed in Table 4.12.

<i>mate</i>	'to be dead, die'
<i>mwaso</i>	'to be alive, healthy, live'
<i>sala</i>	'to be/become lost'
<i>mwasara</i>	'to be/become clean'
<i>rarai</i>	'to be/become ready, prepare'
<i>horo</i>	'to be/become full, fill up'
<i>lenga</i>	'to be/become crazy, naughty, etc'
<i>rada</i>	'to be awake, awaken'
<i>ililo</i>	'to be knowing'

Table 4.12 O-type stative-inchoative verbs which take the causative prefix *vaga-*

## 4.4.1.2 ACTIVE INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Most active intransitive verbs can be made into a transitive verb. There is a small group which only have an intransitive form, and these form a separate subclass on this basis. The other three subclasses of active intransitive verbs are distinguished on the basis of whether the transitive counterpart of the verb is formed by suffixation with one of the applicative suffixes, *-Ci*, or *-gi(ni)*, or the causative suffix *-tagi(ni)*.

4.4.1.2.1 A-TYPE. TAKES APPLICATIVE SUFFIX *-Ci*

For those A-type intransitive verbs which can take the applicative suffix *-Ci*, the introduced argument in O function generally has the semantic role of patient (§11.3.1.1). Some examples from this subclass, with their derived transitive forms, are listed in Table 4.13.

<i>aho</i>	'to be sunny'	<i>ahoni</i>	'to shine on (of sun)'
<i>ahu</i>	'to smoke (of fire)'	<i>ahuni</i>	'to blow smoke on (of fire)'
<i>garu</i>	'to swim, bathe'	<i>garuhi</i>	'to bathe, splash (s'one)'
<i>laka</i>	'to be noisy'	<i>lakasi</i>	'to disturb (by making noise)'
<i>lue</i>	'to vomit'	<i>luehi</i>	'to vomit on'
<i>mimi</i>	'to urinate'	<i>mimihi</i>	'to urinate on'
<i>ngara</i>	'to cry'	<i>ngarahi</i>	'to cry for'
<i>rugu</i>	'to search'	<i>rugusi</i>	'to search for'

Table 4.13 A-type intransitives which take the applicative suffix *-Ci*4.4.1.2.2 A-TYPE. TAKES APPLICATIVE SUFFIX *-gi(ni)*

Unlike those A-type intransitives which take the applicative suffix *-Ci*, the introduced object of those verbs which can be marked with the applicative suffix *-gi(ni)* can have a number of varied semantic roles (§11.3.1.2).

<i>dige</i>	'to walk'	<i>digegi</i>	'to walk off with'
<i>gato</i>	'to speak'	<i>gatogi</i>	'to speaky angrily to, reprimand'
<i>laqa</i>	'to speak (make a speech)'	<i>laqagi</i>	'to make a speech about'
<i>lodo</i>	'to spit'	<i>lodogi</i>	'to spit out (sth)'
<i>mana</i>	'to laugh'	<i>managi</i>	'to laugh at'
<i>ngara</i>	'to cry'	<i>ngaragi</i>	'to cry about'
<i>qalo</i>	'to fight'	<i>qalogi</i>	'to fight over, for sth'
<i>rau</i>	'to not want'	<i>rahagi</i>	'to not want sth'

Table 4.14 A-type intransitives which take the applicative suffix *-gi(ni)*4.4.1.2.3 O-TYPE. TAKES CAUSATIVE SUFFIX *-TAGI(NI)*

This is a very small subclass of active intransitives, with only four verbs having been recorded. Generally a causative is formed with active verbs by a switch-subject serial verb construction (§10.6.2.3).

<i>bulu</i>	'to join'
<i>dule</i>	'to hang'
<i>labe</i>	'to stand'
<i>saka</i>	'to go on top of'

Table 4.15 O-type intransitives which take the causative suffix *-tagi(ni)*

## 4.4.1.2.4 INTRANSITIVES WITH NO TRANSITIVE FORM

Unlike stative-inchoative intransitives, there are few active intransitive verbs which have no derived transitive form. Some of these verbs are listed in Table 4.16.

<i>dadari</i>	'to arrive'
<i>qangi</i>	'to jump (down from height)'
<i>soi</i>	'to fall'
<i>vidi</i>	'to jump'

Table 4.16 Active intransitives which have no transitive form

Posture verbs

A further subclass of intransitive verbs which have no derived transitive form are posture verbs. These are grouped together as a distinct subclass for two reasons. There is no copula verb 'to be' in Ambae, but these verbs can function as existential verbs, in which case they do not retain their postural meaning (§13.2.3). They can also occur as the first verb in a

type of same-subject core layer serial verb construction which describes ‘position and simultaneous action’ (§10.6.1.2). The verbs in this class are listed in Table 4.17.

<i>eno</i>	‘to lie’
<i>labe</i>	‘to stand’
<i>taqao</i>	‘to lie flat’
<i>toga</i>	‘to sit, live’
<i>tu</i>	‘to stay’

Table 4.17 Posture verbs

4.4.2 AMBITRANSITIVE VERBS

While it is common for the object of a transitive verb to be ellipsed, there are very few truly ambitransitive verbs in Ambae, which can act either transitively or intransitively in their underived form. There are a few examples of O-type ambitransitives in the data, and a few examples of A-type ambitransitives.

Verb	Intransitive	Transitive
O-type:		
<i>dono</i>	‘to drown, sink’	‘to swallow s.t.’
<i>dori</i>	‘to turn, change’	‘to turn, change s.t.’
<i>rangai</i>	‘to fry’	‘to fry s.t.’
A-type:		
<i>wetu</i>	‘to dance’	‘to dance a dance’
<i>rarai</i>	‘to be ready’	‘to prepare, make ready s.t.’

4.4.3 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs require two nominal arguments, in A and O function. Generally transitive verbs are active, with only five exceptions. The simple verbs *mwere* ‘to be like’, *ilo* ‘to know’ and *haro* ‘to not know’, and two compound verbs *lehi garea* ‘to like’ and *lehi hesi* ‘to not like, hate’ are stative-inchoative verbs.

The subclass of transitive verbs is further divided according to whether a form is O-type, A-type, or has no derived intransitive form.

4.4.3.1 O-TYPE. TAKES ANTICAUSATIVE PREFIX *ma-* TO FORM INTRANSITIVE

O-type transitive verbs form a subclass by virtue of the fact that a stative-inchoative intransitive verb can be derived from the unmarked transitive with the anticausative prefix *ma-*, whereby the argument in O function remains as the S argument of the derived

intransitive. While this subclass is purely defined on these grounds, the verbs which fall into this subclass can be characterised to some extent in terms of their semantic properties. All O-type transitive verbs are very high in transitivity, in terms of many of the features which Hopper and Thompson (1980) recognise in their transitivity scale. The most significant identifiable properties are with respect to the characteristics of the A and O in a transitive clause which contains an O-type verb. In terms of agency, the A is always very high in potency, an animate being who is a causer. The participation of the A in the event results in a significant irreversible effect on the O. The O, on the other hand is an inanimate patient who has no control over the action which takes place. On the scale of affectedness, it is totally affected, as the result of the action cannot be reversed. The event is also generally punctual; a single action with an easily identifiable endpoint. This is not a large subclass; an exhaustive list is given in Table 4.18.

<i>bitu</i>	'to remove from stalk'
<i>dange</i>	'to pull out'
<i>didihi</i>	'to spill'
<i>duru</i>	'to poke'
<i>hanga</i>	'to divide (branch)'
<i>heve</i>	'to rip'
<i>kore</i>	'to break'
<i>langa</i>	'to turn over'
<i>libe</i>	'to bend down'
<i>lingi</i>	'to pour'
<i>qiri</i>	'to bend'
<i>raga</i>	'to raise'
<i>roto</i>	'to break'
<i>sara</i>	'to clean'
<i>tala</i>	'to pull down'
<i>tugi</i>	'to pull down'
<i>utu</i>	'to break'
<i>visa</i>	'to split'
<i>volo</i>	'to break'
<i>vutu</i>	'to uproot, dig up'
<i>wahe</i>	'to divide'
<i>weru</i>	'to fold'

Table 4.18 O-type transitive verbs which take the anti-causative prefix *ma-*

An intransitive verb derived from an O-type transitive verb enters the subclass of O-type stative-inchoative verbs. That is, these derived intransitives:

- denote a state when marked for telic aspect, and a process when marked for realis or irrealis mood; and
- can be nominalised with the suffix *-gi* (§5.4.7).

Anti-causatives are discussed in detail in §11.2.2.

4.4.3.2 A-TYPE. REDUPLICATED TO FORM INTRANSITIVE

All A-type transitives can be reduplicated to form an active intransitive verb, for which the S argument is the same as the argument of the underived verb which is in A function. In terms of the semantic features of the verbs in this subclass, while relatively high in transitivity, most are not as highly transitive as O-type transitives (Hopper and Thompson 1980). The relevant differences are that while the A is still fairly high in potency, the O is not as affected as an O in a clause containing an O-type transitive verb. While the A is still having an effect on the O, it is not necessarily an irreversible result. Also, the event need not be punctual, and is generally one that is seen as taking place over an extended period of time.

<i>bala</i>	‘to tong, use scissors action’
<i>balu</i>	‘to steal’
<i>bete</i>	‘to give’
<i>gahi</i>	‘to weed’
<i>gani</i>	‘to eat’
<i>gasi</i>	‘to bite’
<i>hong</i> i	‘to spit roast’
<i>ilo</i>	‘to know’
<i>kalo</i>	‘to climb’
<i>kali</i>	‘to lie (to s.o.)’
<i>kiri</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>kui</i>	‘to bake (in stone oven)’
<i>mangi</i>	‘to wipe’
<i>rivu</i>	‘to plant’
<i>siu</i>	‘to catch fish’
<i>tabe</i>	‘to respect’
<i>tai</i>	‘to chop’
<i>toto</i>	‘to hammer’
<i>tunu</i>	‘to roast’
<i>uli</i>	‘to write’
<i>vene</i>	‘to shoot’
<i>vili</i>	‘to cut grass’

Table 4.19 A-type transitive verbs which can be reduplicated to form an intransitive

An intransitive verb which is formed by reduplication of an A-type transitive verb functions as a member of the active subclass of intransitives.

4.4.3.3 TRANSITIVES WITH NO INTRANSITIVE FORM

Those verbs which have no intransitive form require a more individuated O than other transitive verbs. That is, they refer to events which can’t be viewed without reference to an

object. This generalisation however, has no predictive value in determining which verbs will be members of this subclass.

For those transitive verbs which have no derived intransitive form, some are unmarked forms (Table 4.20), but others have one of the applicative suffixes *-Ci* or *-gi(ni)* as an ending (Table 4.21), suggesting that they were originally derived from an unmarked intransitive form (§11.3.1.2). Synchronically however, these verbs have no derived intransitive form.

<i>bulu</i>	'to build'
<i>goso</i>	'to husk coconut'
<i>hako</i>	'to hold'
<i>hiri</i>	'to grate coconut'
<i>hua</i>	'to find'
<i>hui</i>	'to ask'
<i>huri</i>	'to follow'
<i>inu</i>	'to drink'
<i>lai</i>	'to take'
<i>loli</i>	'to do, make'
<i>raha</i>	'to make laplap'
<i>singi</i>	'to dip (food in liquid)'
<i>tarani</i>	'to want'
<i>teve</i>	'to cut'
<i>vai</i>	'to do, make'
<i>wali</i>	'to take'
<i>woro</i>	'to milk coconut'

Table 4.20 Examples of transitive verbs which have no intransitive form (unmarked)

<i>barosi</i>	'to reprimand, tell off'
<i>bubusi</i>	'to shoot'
<i>buguri</i>	'to throw s.t. at s.o./s.t.'
<i>hagavi</i>	'to feel sorry, sad for s.o.'
<i>hogoni</i>	'to put inside'
<i>saravi</i>	'to pat'
<i>sasavi</i>	'to rub'
<i>sikeli</i>	'to touch'
<i>siregi</i>	'to let go of'
<i>vihogi</i>	'to sun-dry'
<i>wakari</i>	'to scratch'

Table 4.21 Examples of transitive verbs which have no intransitive form  
(with *-Ci/-gi(ni)* ending)

## 4.4.4 EXTENDED TRANSITIVE VERBS

There are no ditransitive verbs in Ambae, however there are a few verbs which could be classed as extended transitives, as they are specified as taking both a direct object and an oblique object of the dative/benefactive preposition *lawe*. For no verbs, however, is an oblique object obligatory according to the verb's subcategorisation. The extended transitive verbs are:

<i>bete</i>	'to give'
<i>veve</i>	'to say, tell'
<i>haharagi</i>	'to show'

## 4.4.5 VERBS FUNCTIONING AS MEMBERS OF MORE THAN ONE SUBCLASS

Some verbs can be members of more than one subclass. Basically this is only true of those A-type active intransitive verbs which can take both the *-Ci* and *-gi(ni)* applicative suffixes. These verbs are discussed in detail in §11.3.1.3, but a few examples can be found in Table 4.22.

Intransitive verb	<i>-Ci</i>	<i>-gi(ni)</i>
<i>lue</i> 'to vomit'	<i>luehi</i> 'to vomit on'	<i>luegi</i> 'to throw s.t. up'
<i>mana</i> 'to laugh'	<i>manahi</i> 'to laugh at'	<i>managi</i> 'to laugh at' (basically same as <i>manahi</i> , but slightly diff meaning)
<i>mimi</i> 'to urinate'	<i>mimihi</i> 'to urinate on'	<i>mimigi</i> 'to urinate s.t. (e.g. blood)'
<i>ngara</i> 'to cry'	<i>ngarahi</i> 'to cry for s.o.' (only if dead, or will not see again)	<i>ngaragi</i> 'to cry about s.t.' (limited usage) (usually <i>ngara huri</i> )
<i>ahu</i> 'to smoke (of fire)'	<i>ahuni</i> 'to blow smoke on (of fire)'	<i>ahugi</i> 'to smoke' (e.g. dry copra)
<i>uhe</i> 'to rain'	<i>uheni</i> 'to rain on'	<i>uhegi</i> 'to rain (e.g. mud, feathers)'
<i>laka</i> 'to make noise'	<i>lakasi</i> 'to disturb s.o. by making too much noise'	<i>lakagi</i> 'to make noise about s.t.'
<i>lodo</i> 'to spit'	<i>lodosi</i> 'to spit on'	<i>lodogi</i> 'to spit s.t. out'

Table 4.22 Intransitive verbs functioning as members of more than one subclass



## 4.5 NOUN-VERB DISTINCTION

There are a considerable number of words for which it is difficult to state categorically whether they belong essentially to the class of nouns or verbs. These are forms which may occur underived as either the head of a VP, preceded by a subject proclitic, in which case they are functioning as verbs, or as the head of an NP, in some cases preceded by an article, in which case they are functioning as nouns. This is the case with the forms *iri* '(to) fan', and *mena* 'to be ripe, a ripe fruit' in the following examples.

- 5) **Na=ni iri=go.**  
1SGS=IRR fan=2SGO  
*I will fan you.*
- 6) **Go=bete na no-ku iri.**  
2SGS=give ACC CL.GEN-1SGP fan  
*Give me my fan.*
- 7) **Mo mena.**  
REAL ripe  
*It is ripe/ripening.*
- 8) **No=mo gani na mena.**  
1SGS=REAL eat ACC ripe(banana)  
*I am eating a ripe banana.*

There are two possible interpretations of this situation. One interpretation is that these are precategorical roots, which implies that there is no specification in their lexical entry stating which word class they are members of, but rather this is determined by the syntactic distribution. Alternatively, one could say that each root is assigned to a particular word class, and that zero derivation enables them to occur with the same form in a different word class. In the previous examples, while *iri* and *mena* occur underived both as a noun and as a verb, it seems valid to propose that, in terms of whether the chicken or the egg comes first, an *iri* 'fan' is essentially a thing, whereas to be/become *mena* 'ripe' is essentially a process or a state. It is necessary for a fan to exist in order to be able to perform the action of fanning, whereas the process of ripening must take place before a ripened fruit exists. Other roots are not so easy to categorise. Is *uhe* '(to) rain' primarily an action which takes place, or the product of this action?

- 9) **Nainoa mo uhe mwere.**  
yesterday REAL rain INT  
*Yesterday it really rained.*

- 10)     **Nainoa     uhe     lague.**  
         yesterday rain     big  
         *Yesterday there was a big rain.*

This is not a question which I will address in detail here, but it is important to recognise that for some roots it is difficult to state conclusively which word class they should be initially assigned to, or if indeed they are precategorical.

While in some Austronesian languages there are extreme cases of roots being able to function as both verb and noun in their underived form (c.f. *Tukang Besi*, a Western Austronesian language of Sulawesi (Donohue 1995), Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992) and other Polynesian languages (Biggs 1971)), in Ambae the majority of roots do have word class specified in their lexical entry. There is a range of possibilities for categorisation of roots, from those forms which can only function as verbs, to those which are basically verbs but which can be nominalised or function as nouns if they have noun marking, through to those which can function underived as either nouns or verbs, and on to those which are nouns but which can form derived verbs, and those which are purely nominal.

4.6 ADVERBS

Members of the class of adverbs can be assigned to one of two subclasses, depending on whether they operate at the level of the phrase or the clause. Phrasal adverbs modify the predicate in the verb phrase, whereas sentential adverbs have scope over the entire clause. This classification can be equated with both the form of the adverb, and whether, in a transitive clause which contains an adverb, the object enclitic attaches to the adverb (Table 4.23) (§9.7) or to the verb (Table 4.24). It appears that those adverbs to which an O enclitic can attach were historically verbs which took part in serial verb constructions, but they can no longer function as independent verbs. Synchronically they are therefore phrasal adverbs occurring within the VP. The diachronic evidence indicates that they used to be verbs, as all adverbs in this subclass end in *-gi*, which is the form of the applicative suffix elsewhere, but here has been reanalysed as part of the stem (§11.3.1.2). As for those adverbs which cannot have an object enclitic attached, for the most part these are sentential adverbs, although some can also operate at the level of the VP.

<i>bubugi</i>	‘together’
<i>lategi</i>	‘about, around, all over’
<i>lawagi</i>	‘too much’
<i>vagasigi</i>	‘last’
<i>vohogi</i>	‘completely, away’
<i>vorogi</i>	‘without anything, by itself’
<i>vurugegi</i>	‘well, properly’

Table 4.23 Phrasal adverbs to which an O enclitic can attach

<i>bibi</i>	'together, tightly'
<i>bulu</i>	'together'
<i>ribi</i>	'slowly, (for) a long time'
<i>rorongo</i>	'slowly, quietly'
<i>siseri</i>	'quickly'
<i>taligu</i>	'again'
<i>tamwere</i>	'always'
<i>tomue</i>	'first'
<i>vovohoi</i>	'straight, properly'

Table 4.24 Adverbs to which an O enclitic cannot attach

## 4.7 GENERAL MODIFIERS

There are three forms which can function as both nominal and sentence level modifiers. These are:

<i>hageliu</i>	'especially'
<i>hogosie</i>	'only'
<i>vage</i>	'too, as well'

There is only one prehead verbal modifier, and this is *mala* 'quite'.

## 4.8 QUANTIFIERS

Members of the class of quantifiers can function both as an NP head, and a nominal modifier. The members of this very small closed class are:

<i>dolegi</i>	'all'
<i>lavasigi</i>	'some'
<i>sao</i>	'many, plenty'
<i>teri</i>	'many'
<i>tuegi</i>	'other, another, one'
<i>vataha</i>	'every'

All quantifiers occur posthead, except *vataha* 'every'.

## 4.9 NUMERALS

Numerals are classified separately from other quantifiers, as apart from functioning as the head of an NP and as a nominal modifier, they can also function as the head of a VP. The form of the numerals used when simply counting, are monomorphemic, but otherwise forms are prefixed with the numeral marker *gai-*. Cardinal numerals simply have this form,

but ordinals take the nominalising suffix *-gi*. Numerals can also be prefixed with the causative *vaga-* and function either as the head of the VP, with the meaning ‘do X times’, or as a modifier of the VP head, meaning ‘X times’.

Ambae has a base ten counting system, up to and including forms for hundreds, and thousands. Tens and units are joined by *domwagi* ‘plus’, and hundreds and tens, and thousands and hundreds, are linked by *avigi* ‘plus’. The forms for one to ten, plus other examples which demonstrate the forms of numerals, are listed in Table 4.25.

Counting	Cardinal	Ordinal	Multiplicative
<i>tea</i> ‘one’	<i>gatawale</i> ‘one’	<i>tomuegi</i> ‘first’	<i>vagatigale</i> ‘(do) once’
<i>rue</i> ‘two’	<i>gairue</i> ‘two’	<i>tuegi</i> ‘second’	<i>vagarue</i> ‘(do) twice’
<i>tolu</i> ‘three’	<i>gaitolu</i> ‘three’	<i>gaitoligi</i> ‘third’	<i>vagatolu</i> ‘(do) three times’
<i>vesi</i> ‘four’	<i>gaivesi</i> ‘four’	<i>gaivesigi</i> ‘fourth’	<i>vagavesi</i> ‘(do) four times’
<i>lime</i> ‘five’	<i>gailime</i> ‘five’	<i>gaivesigi</i> ‘fifth’	<i>vagalime</i> ‘(do) five times’
<i>ono</i> ‘six’	<i>gaiono</i> ‘six’	<i>gaionogi</i> ‘sixth’	<i>vagaono</i> ‘(do) six times’
<i>bitu</i> ‘seven’	<i>gaibitu</i> ‘seven’	<i>gaibitugi</i> ‘seventh’	<i>vagabitu</i> ‘(do) seven times’
<i>welu</i> ‘eight’	<i>gaiwelu</i> ‘eight’	<i>gaiwelugi</i> ‘eighth’	<i>vagawelu</i> ‘(do) eight times’
<i>siwo</i> ‘nine’	<i>gaisiwo</i> ‘nine’	<i>gaisiwogi</i> ‘ninth’	<i>vagasiwo</i> ‘(do) nine times’
<i>hangavulu</i> ‘ten’	<i>hangavulu</i> ‘ten’	<i>hangavulugi</i> ‘tenth’	<i>vagahangavulu</i> ‘(do) ten times’
<i>hangavulu</i>	<i>hangavulu</i>	<i>hangavulu domwagi</i>	<i>vagahangavulu domwagi</i>
<i>domwagi</i>	<i>domwagi</i>	<i>gatawalegi</i>	<i>gatawale</i> ‘(do) eleven times’
<i>gatawale</i> ‘eleven’	<i>gatawale</i> ‘eleven’	‘eleventh’	
<i>hangavulu</i>	<i>hangavulu</i>	<i>hangavulu domwagi</i>	<i>vagahangavulu domwagi</i>
<i>domwagi gairue</i>	<i>domwagi gairue</i>	<i>gairuegi</i> ‘twelfth’	<i>gairue</i> ‘(do) twelve times’
‘twelve’	‘twelve’		
<i>ngavulu gairue</i>	<i>ngavulu gairue</i>	<i>ngavulu gairuegi</i>	<i>vagangavulu gairue</i> ‘(do)
‘twenty’	‘twenty’	‘twentieth’	twenty times’
<i>vudolue</i> ‘(one)	<i>vudolue</i> ‘(one)	<i>vudoluegi</i> ‘hundreth’	<i>vagavudolue</i> ‘(do) one
hundred’	hundred’		hundred times’
<i>vudolue vagarue</i>	<i>vudolue vagarue</i>	<i>vudolue vagaruegi</i>	<i>vagavudolue vagarue</i> ‘(do)
‘two hundred’	‘two hundred’	‘two hundreth’	two hundred times’
<i>teri</i> ‘thousand’	<i>teri</i> ‘thousand’	<i>terigi</i> ‘thousandth’	<i>vagateri</i> ‘(do) a thousand
			times’
<i>teri vagarue</i> ‘two	<i>teri vagarue</i> ‘two	<i>teri vagaruegi</i> ‘two	<i>vagateri vagarue</i> ‘(do) two
thousand’	thousand’	thousandth’	thousand times’

Table 4.25 Numerals

## 4.10 PRONOMINALS

There are four sets of pronominal forms in Ambae: independent pronouns, which are free forms, and three sets of bound forms: subject proclitics, object enclitics, and possessive suffixes. All sets of pronominals distinguish three numbers; the basic distinction is between singular and nonsingular, and the nonsingular forms can cliticise to the dual marker. There is an inclusive-exclusive distinction made in the first person.

### 4.10.1 INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Independent pronouns function like proper nouns in that they are preceded by the personal article when functioning as the head of an NP. However they only function as the object of a preposition when it is a verb-like preposition and there is no object enclitic for that person and number.

	SG	DL	NSG
1INCL		<i>gideru</i>	<i>gide</i>
1EXCL	<i>neu</i>	<i>gamaru</i>	<i>gamai</i>
2	<i>niko</i>	<i>gimiru</i>	<i>gimiu</i>
3	<i>ngie</i>	<i>garue</i>	<i>ngire</i>

### 4.10.2 SUBJECT PROCLITICS

The subject proclitic is the first element of the VP, attaching either to an aspect, mood or negative particle, or to the verb head itself (§9). In the case of the dual forms, these actually consist of the nonsingular forms which cliticise to the dual marker *ru*. In some dialects the form of the first singular proclitic is always *na=*, but in Lolovoli *no=* occurs when cliticised to the realis particle. The variation in the third singular forms is also related to which aspect or mood marking occurs; the third singular is zero in the realis mood and telic aspect, *vi=* in the irrealis, and *na=* when mood is unmarked, as in some complement clauses (§14.2)

	SG	DL	PL
1INCL		<i>da=ru</i>	<i>da=</i>
1EXCL	<i>na=, no=</i>	<i>ga=ru</i>	<i>ga=</i>
2	<i>go=</i>	<i>ne=ru</i>	<i>ne=</i>
3	<i>Ø, na=, vi=</i>	<i>ra=ru</i>	<i>ra=</i>

### 4.10.3 OBJECT ENCLITICS

Object enclitics attach either to the predicate head or final adverb in a VP (§9). Enclitics only exist for the singular forms, and all third person forms, in other cases the pronominal

object occurs as an independent pronoun. The variation in form of the third person enclitics is phonologically conditioned, according to the vowel height assimilation rule whereby  $a \rightarrow e / (C)V_{[+high]}(C)_{-}$  (§2.6.5).

	SG	DL	PL
1INCL		<i>gideru</i>	<i>gide</i>
1EXCL	<i>=eu</i>	<i>gamaru</i>	<i>gamai</i>
2	<i>=go</i>	<i>gimiru</i>	<i>gimiu</i>
3	<i>=a, =e</i>	<i>=ra, =re</i>	<i>=ra, =re</i>

#### 4.10.4 POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Possessive suffixes are attached to the head noun in a direct possessive construction, or a relational classifier in an indirect possessive construction (§7). The variation in forms is due to the vowel height assimilation rule (§2.6.5).

	SG	DL	PL
1INCL		<i>-da=ru</i>	<i>-da, -de</i>
1EXCL	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-ma=ru</i>	<i>-mai</i>
2	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-mi=ru</i>	<i>-miu</i>
3	<i>-na, -ne</i>	<i>-ra, -re</i>	<i>-ra, -re</i>

#### 4.11 RELATIONAL CLASSIFIERS

There are two types of possessive construction in Ambae, direct and indirect (§7). In a direct possessive construction, the possessor is marked on the possessed head noun. In an indirect possessive construction however, the possessor must be marked on one of a set of relational classifiers. The relational classifiers function to indicate a semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessed object, the function which the possessed object has for the possessor. The four relational classifiers, and the semantic relationships which they represent are:

<i>ga-</i>	food possession
<i>me-</i>	drink possession
<i>bule-</i>	natural or valued object possession
<i>no-</i>	general possession

#### 4.12 DIRECTIONALS

Directionals are classed here separately primarily due to the fact that these forms can function in their underived forms as members of three different word classes: A-type active intransitive verbs, absolute location nouns, and demonstratives.

A few other factors justify treating these directional forms as a separate class. The unmarked forms are *vano* 'go (along), over there', *hage* 'go up, up there', and *hivo* 'go down, down there'. They are the only forms which can take the directional suffixes, *-mai* 'towards speaker' and *-atu* 'towards addressee, towards past/future deictic centre', and the distal suffix *-lehe*, which can be attached to the forms when they function as absolute location nouns, indicating a location at a greater distance. The details of the semantics and function of all the deictic forms are discussed in §8.

When directionals function as absolute location nouns they can occur with the preposition *tau* to specify a location, whereas absolute and place nouns can only occur with this preposition when it means 'denizen of'.

When these forms are prefixed with the demonstrative formative prefix *gi-* or *ngi-* (choice of these two forms is arbitrary; there is no difference in meaning or distribution) they can have either a referential or modifying function as demonstratives.

#### 4.13 DEMONSTRATIVES

Apart from the demonstratives which are members of the class of directionals, discussed above, there are several forms which function only as members of the class of demonstratives. Demonstratives can function pronominally, or can modify the head noun in an NP. Firstly, there are the two forms which distinguish a proximal location from a distal location, *ngaha* 'this' and *ngihie* 'that'. As a demonstrative *ngaha* is a spatial deictic, but the same form also occurs as a temporal deictic meaning 'now', as a member of the class of temporals. As well as being a demonstrative which modifies nouns, *ngihie* is also an emphatic demonstrative which can modify an entire proposition, as a clausal adjunct.

Apart from these two forms, all members of the subclass of absolute location nouns, that is directionals and the small set of absolute location nouns, but not place names, can be prefixed with the demonstrative formative prefix, *gi-/ngi-* to form demonstratives.

##### 4.13.1 *GE*

Use of the form *ge* is always accompanied either by pointing with the index finger, or indication with the eyes, eyebrows and a tilt of the head, to demonstrate the location of an object. It is used when indicating the location of an object upon request from the addressee, and is generally expressed with some force, suggesting a meaning along the lines of, 'it's there, stupid, are you blind!'

##### 4.13.2 PRESENTATIVE *IA*

*Ia* is a borrowing from Bislama, from the English, 'here'. It is uttered when presenting an object to the addressee.

- 11)     **ia,   no-mu       bue.**  
           here CL.GEN-2SGP knife  
           *Here, your knife.*

#### 4.14 ARTICLES

There are seven articles in Ambae, the function and distribution of which is discussed in detail in the noun phrase chapter (§5). Three articles indicate case, one specifies indefiniteness, and the remaining three are personal, and plural articles. The articles are:

<i>na</i>	accusative case article
<i>a</i>	nominative case article
<i>lo</i>	locative case article
<i>tea</i>	indefinite article
<i>i</i>	personal article
<i>re</i>	plural human article
<i>ire</i>	human article 'all'

#### 4.15 PREPOSITIONS

There are three types of prepositions in Ambae: noun-like, verb-like, and true prepositions. These three subclasses of the closed class of prepositions are distinguished on the basis of whether the person and number of the oblique object can be indexed on the preposition by a possessive suffix or an object enclitic, in the case of noun-like and verb-like prepositions respectively, or if, as is the case with true prepositions, the oblique object must appear as an NP. Neither the noun-like prepositions nor the verb-like prepositions can function as nouns or verbs, but unlike true prepositions they are marked for the person and number of the object of the preposition, and thus do exhibit some characteristics of nouns and verbs<sup>3</sup>.

##### 4.15.1 TRUE PREPOSITIONS

<i>tau<sub>i</sub></i>	'denizen of, from'
<i>tau<sub>/si</sub></i>	Locative 'to, at'
<i>sara</i>	Locative 'to, at' (plural form of <i>tau<sub>/si</sub></i> )

<sup>3</sup> Historically, these noun-like and verb-like prepositions are derived from nouns and verbs and a number of these have been reconstructed as such in Proto Oceanic (Pawley 1973, Ross 1988, Durie 1988). It is common in languages for prepositions to display nominal or verbal characteristics as they are often verbs or nouns which have undergone grammaticalisation.



## 4.15.2 NOUN-LIKE PREPOSITIONS

<i>lobe</i>	'near, next to'
<i>lolo</i>	'in(side), into'
<i>lu-</i>	'on'
<i>to-</i>	Comitative 'with'

## 4.15.3 VERB-LIKE PREPOSITIONS

<i>dene</i>	Ablative 'from'
<i>gahe</i>	'alone, by oneself'
<i>gene</i>	Instrumental, stimulus 'with' (common noun as object)
<i>gi</i>	Instrumental, stimulus 'with' (proper noun as object), 'as'
<i>huri</i>	Allative 'towards', Purposive 'for', 'about'
<i>lawe</i>	Dative, benefactive 'to'
<i>me</i>	Comitative, confective 'with'
<i>mwere</i>	Manner 'like'

## 4.16 NEGATIVE PARTICLES

The formation of a negative verbal clause is bipartite, there being two negative particles, *hi*, which occurs preverbally, and *tea*, which occurs postverbally (§9).

In nonverbal clauses the negative mood is marked by the negative particle *hate* (§13), which can also function as a negative predicate that can only take a complement clause as an argument (§ 14.2.2.9). This form is homophonous with the interjection 'no' (§4.22).

## 4.17 VERBAL PARTICLES

The particles listed in Table 4.26 all occur within the verb phrase, and apart from the reciprocal particle *vui*, they have an aspectual or modal function. The function and distribution of these particles is discussed in detail in the verb phrase chapter (§9).

<i>ru</i>	dual particle
<i>mo</i>	realis mood particle
<i>ni</i>	irrealis mood particle
<i>u</i>	telic aspect particle
<i>bo</i>	apprehensive mood particle
<i>mese/vese</i>	dehortative mood particle
<i>bei</i>	'just, for the first time' (aspect particle)
<i>mas</i>	'must' <sup>4</sup> (mood particle)
<i>vui</i>	reciprocal particle
<i>beno</i>	'already' (aspect particle)
<i>tau/teu</i>	'still, yet' (aspect particle)
<i>radu</i>	'still, forever' ongoing, continuous event (aspect particle)

Table 4.26 Verbal particles

4.18 SUBORDINATORS

Subordinators function to introduce subordinate clauses which are embedded within the main clause. There are three types.

4.18.1 COMPLEMENTISER

There are two complementisers which introduce different types of sentential complements, both of which are bimorphemic, (*huri*) *vo* and *mwere vo*. *Huri* is also an allative/purposive preposition, and a subordinator which introduces adverbial clauses of purpose. *Mwere* has a number of other functions, as discussed in §4.20. *Vo* is the same form as the verb 'to say' as it is used when introducing reported speech (§14.2.2.1.1). Complement clauses are discussed in §14.2.

4.18.2 RELATIVISER

Relative clauses are introduced either by the relativiser *ngihie* if the common argument is singular, or by the relativiser *ngire* if the common argument is plural. *Ngihie* is homophonous with the demonstrative *ngihie* 'that', and *ngire* is homophonous with the third person plural independent pronoun. Relative clauses are discussed in §14.3.

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<sup>4</sup> This is clearly a borrowing from English via Bislama. Previously there was no mood particle specifying obligation. The function and distribution of this particle is discussed in §9.5.9.

### 4.18.3 ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATORS

Adverbial clauses are discussed in §14.4. The subordinators which introduce different types of adverbial clauses are:

<i>(tau)vohea</i>	‘when, while’	Introduces temporal adverbial clauses
<i>mwere</i>	‘like’	Introduces adverbial clauses of manner
<i>huri</i>	‘for’	Introduces adverbial clauses of purpose
<i>bana</i>	‘because’	Introduces adverbial clauses of reason
<i>vo</i>	‘if’	Introduces conditional clauses

Table 4.27 Adverbial subordinators

### 4.19 CONJUNCTIONS

The following conjunctions coordinate pairs of NPs and pairs of clauses. The functions of these forms are discussed in §15; here the forms are listed with a gloss and brief description of the function. Note that the form *ale*, borrowed from Bislama, commonly occurs in place of *siu* ‘then, thus’ or *vunu* ‘then’.

<i>me(na)</i>	‘with, and’	Conjoins NPs and clauses
<i>ko</i>	‘and’	Conjoins clauses (Lombaha dialect)
<i>vunu</i>	‘then’	Conjoins clauses
<i>siu</i>	‘then, thus’	Conjoins clauses
<i>ngie</i>	‘but’	Adversative conjunction
<i>sege (vo)</i>	‘or’	Disjunctive conjunction

Table 4.28 Conjunctions

### 4.20 MWERE

While I have already classed *mwere* as a transitive verb, preposition and subordinator, I also discuss it separately here because this form has five distinct syntactic functions, three of which justify its inclusion in already established word classes, while two do not. (12) demonstrates *mwere* functioning as a transitive verb. When it occurs as a preposition or a subordinator, it functions, respectively, as the head of a prepositional phrase of manner (13), and to introduce an adverbial clause of manner (14).

- 12) **Ngie u    mwere    na    qeta,    ngie u    dolue.**  
 3SG TEL   like        ACC taro   but   TEL different  
*It's like taro, but it's different.*

- 13) **Mwere** **ra=ru** **mo** **sesea** **mwere=eu** **vage.**  
 like 3NSGS=DL REAL old like=1SGO too  
*Like, the two of them are old like me too.*

(AD001)

- 14) **...mwetarigelegi** **mo** **wehe** **na** **tangaioi** **ngihie** **mwere** **u** **wehe** **na**  
 kava REAL kill ACC person DEM like TEL kill ACC  
**garivi** **ngihie.**  
 rat DEM  
*...the kava affected the man like it had affected the rat.*

(EK053)

Additionally, *mwere* functions as an intensifier, modifying the head of a VP (15), and as a discourse marker, with similar distribution to 'like' as it occurs in a certain variety of spoken English (16).

- 15) **Netu-ne** **u** **iague** **mwere!**  
 offspring-3SGPTEL big INT  
*Her baby has got so big!*

- 16) **Mwere** **lo** **no-ku** **le-leo** **mwere** **ngire** **vavine,** **mwere**  
 like LOC CL.GEN-1SGP REDP-see like 3NSG woman like  
**ra=mo** **tomui-gi** **na** **no-ra** **tabana...**  
 3NSGS=REAL first-APPL ACC CL.GEN-3NSGP work  
*Like, in my opinion, like those women, like they lead their work...*

(RG007)

#### 4.21 VERIFICATIONALS

Verificationals are a class of words which occur as clausal adjuncts, modifying the clause as a whole. They have a discourse function, being used by the speaker to make some comment on the truth value of the statement which s/he has made, depending on the available evidence. These all occur clause initially, except *daga* and *sege*, which occur clause finally.

<i>bataha</i>	'maybe, probably, I think'
<i>mameu</i>	'maybe, probably, I think'
<i>daga</i>	'I would say, wouldn't you agree?' (more certain than <i>bataha</i> and <i>mameu</i> )
<i>bavo</i>	'I reckon' (have some sensory information, but not enough to state with certainty that X is true)
<i>sege</i>	'or...?' (requesting information from the addressee on the truth value of the statement)
<i>vaiteu</i>	'careful, watch out...' (X might happen)
<i>ngasevai</i>	'otherwise, if that were not the case...' (then X would happen)

Table 4.29 Verificational

## 4.22 EPISTEMEMES (INTERROGATIVES)

Epistememes are interrogative forms, used when asking content questions (Durie and Mushin 1992). Morphosyntactically, they cannot be said to constitute a separate word class, and they operate at different levels in the clause, but it is useful to group them together by virtue of their commonality in function as question words. Epistememes are generally members of the class of words which the form is functioning to seek information about. *Hine* 'who' is thus a proper noun, as it has the same distribution as members of the subclass of proper nouns and functions to request the identity of a referential nominal argument, and thus the form which represents the anticipated response will be a proper noun.

<i>gaivihe</i>	'how many?'	numeral
<i>hava</i>	'which?'	modifier
<i>havai</i>	'what?'	common noun
<i>hine</i>	'who?'	proper noun
<i>(tahi)logo</i>	'where?'	absolute locational noun
<i>tagaha</i>	'when?'	temporal
<i>huri</i>	'why?'	subordinator
<i>mwerehilogo</i>	'how?'	epistememe
<i>wuraga</i>	'how?'	epistememe

Table 4.30 Epistememes

## 4.23 INTERJECTIONS

The small closed class of interjections includes *hate* 'no', *ho'o* 'yes' and *io* 'yes'. Often interjections contain sounds which are not part of the usual phonetic inventory of a language. Note that this is the case with one of the two Ambae words for 'yes', *ho'o*, which is the only word to contain a glottal stop.

The most commonly occurring interjection in the language would certainly be *ale*, a borrowing from Bislama, which basically signals agreement, meaning, ‘OK, alright, that’s fine’. The original way of expressing this meaning in the language would be with the stative form of the verb ‘to be good’, *U garea* ‘It’s good, OK, fine.’

Exclamatory particles (Table 4.31) and hesitation particles (Table 4.32) comprise the remainder of the set of interjections.

<i>agei!</i>	‘ow!’
<i>ahei!</i>	indication that the speaker does not know, usually accompanied by a shrug of the shoulders and frown
<i>ale</i>	‘OK’
<i>awei!</i>	an expression of irritation or annoyance
<i>awoo!</i>	‘woah!’ (expression of admiration)
<i>boo!!</i>	‘no way!!’ (expression of disbelief)
<i>de!</i>	‘OK’ (signal for action, generally as in ‘let’s go’)
<i>ei!</i>	‘hey!’
<i>etoe!</i>	‘oh how sweet’, or ‘how sad, I’m sorry, poor you...’
<i>garea</i>	‘OK’ (signals agreement)
<i>havai?!, havena?!</i>	‘what?!’ (also an epistememe from the subclass of common nouns. It is common for speakers to use a form from a dialect other than their own when using this form as an interjection)’
<i>havagi?!</i>	
<i>hita!</i>	‘OK’ (signal for action)
<i>mwerehilogo?!</i>	‘what?, what’s going on?, what’s the story?, what the...?!’
<i>oi!</i>	‘oi!, heh!’
<i>ou, oo!</i>	‘yes!’ (response when being called)
<i>soba!</i>	expression of incredulation
<i>sore</i>	‘Sorry’ (borrowing from Bislama, from English, ‘sorry’. Replaces <i>etoe</i> in modern language)
<i>siu?</i>	‘so?, and then?’ (question intonation)
<i>nga siu!</i>	‘sure thing!, of course!’ (rising intonation)

Table 4.31 Exclamatory particles

<i>aa</i>	‘um’
<i>ngie</i>	‘um’
<i>imi</i>	‘um’ (used only when trying to think of a person’s name)

Table 4.32 Hesitation particles

# 5

## Noun phrase

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### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The order of noun phrase (NP) constituents is discussed first, followed by exemplification of the words which can occur as an NP head. The various subclasses of nouns were described in §4.2, and apart from members of these subclasses of proper, locational and common nouns, the other forms which can function as the head of an NP are independent pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals. The different articles are described next, and finally the elements which can modify the NP head. Most non-obligatory modifiers follow the head.

### 5.2 ORDER OF NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow (\text{ART}) \left( \begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{vataha} \\ \text{hava} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right) \text{HEAD} \dots$$
$$\dots (\text{N}) (\text{V})^* \left( \begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{QUANT} \\ \text{NUM} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right) (\text{ngire}) (\text{RC}) (\text{DEM}) (\text{locational adjunct})$$

The only obligatory element of an NP is the head itself. As can be seen from the formula given above, specifying the structure of the NP, modifying elements generally follow the head noun. The articles, where they occur, are always the first constituent within the NP, but the only modifier slots preceding the head are for the quantifier *vataha* ‘each, every’, the interrogative *hava* ‘what?’, and relational classifiers in an indirect simplex possessive construction (i.e. where the possessor is marked on a relational classifier and is expressed as a possessive suffix rather than a full NP (§7.2). There are four possible structures for NPs which contain a possessive construction, and this variation, as well as the fact that the possessor in a possessive construction can be an NP itself, makes it necessary to posit a possessive NP as well as a simple NP. Details of possessive constructions are discussed in §7.

While the NP structure allows for ten slots other than the head noun, it is not common for more than three of these to be filled. It is possible for all constituents to co-occur, including realisation of both possessive slots, in complex possessive constructions. In reality however NPs do not arise where all slots are filled. The constituent structure does allow for multiple nominal and verbal modifiers to occur. The following examples illustrate various possibilities for co-occurrence of NP constituents, and demonstrate the relative order of the head noun and its modifiers:

NP → HEAD
-----------

- 1)     **No=mo**     **gani** [**loko.**]  
        1SGS=REAL eat    pudding  
        *I am eating laplap pudding (a food dish).*

NP → ART    HEAD
------------------

- 2)     **Go=teve**    [**na**    **loko.**]  
        2SGS=cut    ACC    pudding  
        *Cut the laplap pudding.*

NP → (ART) CL-possessive suffix    HEAD
---

- 3)     **Go=ni**     **raha** [(**na**) **ga-ku**            **loko.**]  
        2SGS=IRR grate ACC    CL.FOOD-1SGP    pudding  
        *You will grate my laplap pudding.*

NP → ART CL-possessive suffix HEAD V NUM
--

- 4)     **Ra=u**         **raha** [**na**    **ga-ra**            **loko**    **lague** **gai-rue.**]  
        3NSGS=TEL grate ACC    CL.FOOD-3NSGP pudding big    NUM-two  
        *They grated two big laplap puddings for themselves (to eat).*

NP → HEAD-CONST N V ngire
---------------------------

- 5)     [**A**    **loko-i**            **qeta matolu**    **ngire**] **ra=hi**         **manoga** **tea**  
        NOM pudding-CONST taro thick    3NSG 3NSGS=NEG cooked NEG  
        **vurugegi.**  
        properly  
        *Those thick taro laplap puddings are not cooked properly.*



NP → ART HEAD V CL-CONST N

- 6)    **Na=ni**    **raha** [**na** **loko** **biti** **ga-i**                    **retahi-ku.**]  
       1SGS=IRR grate ACC pudding small CL.FOOD-CONST mother-1SGP  
*I will grate a small laplap pudding for my mother (to eat).*

NP → CL-possessive suffix HEAD RC

- 7)    [**Ga-ku**            **loko**            [**ngihie** **ra=u**            **raha=a]**]    [**garea-gi.**]  
       CL.FOOD-1SGP pudding REL    3NSGS=TEL grate=3SGO good-NR  
*My laplap pudding that they grated was good.*

NP → ART HEAD V RC

- 8)    **Go=lehi**    [**na** **loko**            **lague** [**ngihie** **ra=u**            **raha=a.**]]  
       2SGS=look ACC pudding big REL    3NSGS=TEL grate=3SGO  
*Look at that big laplap pudding that they grated.*

NP → ART CL-possessive suffix HEAD V V RC DEM

- 9)    **Nu**            **geni** **samwegi** [**na** **ga-ra**            **loko**            **matolu**  
       1SGS:TEL eat not.able ACC CL.FOOD-3NSGP pudding thick  
       **lague** [**ngihie** **ra=u**            **raha=a]**    **ngihie,**] **bana** **u** **hesi.**  
       big REL    3NSGS=TEL grate=3SGO that because TEL bad  
*I couldn't eat their large thick taro laplap that they grated, because it was not good.*

While (9) is certainly a contrived example, elicited rather than occurring in natural text, it goes some way to illustrate the possibilities for the NP realising its full extent. Generally only a few of the modifier slots at most are filled. It also demonstrates how, even such an example with only six slots filled, is not particularly natural, and one would never encounter all slots filled in natural, unelicited speech.

### 5.3 FUNCTIONS OF NOUN PHRASES

The examples in the previous section also demonstrate some of the possible grammatical functions of the NP in Ambae. An NP can function as:

- the S argument in a verbal clause (10);
- the O argument in a verbal clause (11);

- an object of a preposition (12);
- a locative adjunct (13);
- the subject argument in a nonverbal clause (14);
- the predicate of a nonverbal clause (15) ; or
- an extra-clausal topic (16).

10) [Boe] ra=u            teregi    na talu-i            butete.  
 pig 3NSGS=TEL ruin:APPL ACC garden-CONST sweet.potato  
*The pigs ruined the sweet potato garden.*

11) Da=mo            siu    [na woro]            lo ulu-i            ioko.  
 1NSG.INS=REAL pour ACC coco.milk LOC top-CONST pudding  
*We pour the coconut milk ontop of the laplap pudding.*

12) Go=talasi=e            gene [bue.]  
 2SGS=carve=3SGO INST knife  
*Carve it with a knife.*

13) ...da=ri            vano [lo turegi vovohoi.]  
 1NSG.INS=DL:IRR go LOC road straight  
*...we will go on the straight road.*

(FRT045)

14) [Tangaloi gatigale] lolo talu-ne.  
 person NUM:one in garden-3SGP  
*There is someone in the garden.*

15) Ngie [a retahigi iague.]  
 3SG NOM chief big  
*He is a high chief.*

16) [Loko-i            qeta,] nu            rongo garea no=mo            gani=e.  
 pudding-CONST taro 1SGS:TEL feel good 1SGS=REAL eat=3SGO  
*Taro laplap, I love eating it.*

While these examples represent all possible functions which an NP can have, there are restrictions on the possible function of the NP depending on the word class which the head noun belongs to. These restrictions are summarised in Table 5.1.

FUNCTION	com. N	prop. N	rel. loc. N	abs. loc. N	indep. proN	dem	quant.	num.
subject argument in a verbal clause	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√
object argument in a verbal clause	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√
object of a preposition	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
a locative adjunct	√	X	√	√	X	X	X	X
subject argument in a nonverbal clause	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√
predicate of a nonverbal clause	√	√	X	√	X	√	√	√
an extra-clausal topic	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	X

Table 5.1 Functions of NPs according to word class of the head

## 5.4 WORDS FUNCTIONING AS THE HEAD OF THE NOUN PHRASE

The forms which can function as the head of an NP are: all subclasses of common, proper and locational nouns; independent pronouns; demonstratives; quantifiers and numerals.

### 5.4.1 COMMON NOUNS

Common nouns constitute the prototypical NP head, whether they be free (17) or bound (18).

- 17) **Mo wali [na gai.]**  
 REAL take ACC wood  
*S/he took the stick.*

- 18) **Mo tuii vohogi [na sinai-gi.]**  
 REAL throw completely ACC intestines-AL  
*S/he threw out the intestines.*

### 5.4.2 PROPER NOUNS

In Ambae, personal names (19) and kinship terms (20) constitute the subclass of proper nouns (§4.2.2), and commonly function as the NP head.

- 19) [I Edgar] mo toga lobe [i Salome.]  
 PERS Edgar REAL live near PERS Salome  
*Edgar lives with Salome.*

- 20) [I tama-ku] mo mate.  
 PERS father-1SGP REAL die  
*My father died.*

A consequence of the classificatory kinship system is that kinterms are often modified. In the classificatory kinship system one has many fathers, mothers, grandparents, and thus it is often necessary to further define the referent of the kinterm by referring to characteristics of the individual.

- 21) Bubu kalasi  
 grandparent glasses  
*Grandma glasses*

- 22) Bubu mata dodo  
 grandparent eye dark  
*Blind Grandad*

Likewise, traditionally people only had one given name, and these were taken from a limited set, which included terms for such common items as: *boe* 'pig', *toa* 'chicken', *tahi* 'sea' and *moli* 'citrus'. Even today, with the introduction of christian names, and where people tend to have more than one name, with a christian name and traditional name or surname, the christian names are still drawn from a limited set. Consequently people's names are often modified, either as a nickname, or simply to further specify the referent in a given context to avoid ambiguity. Stative-inchoative verbs and nominal modifiers are often used to distinguish certain characteristics of the referent of the name, such as physical characteristics (23), age (24), position within the family (25), or relationship to another family member, such as spouse (26).

- 23) John Tari qaravu  
 John Tari tall  
*Tall John Tari*

- 24) Tagaro mwalakelo  
 Tagaro youth  
*Young Tagaro*

- 25) **Will Tari tahi-gi**  
 Will Tari y.same.sex.sib-AL  
*Will Tari the youngest*

- 26) **Margaret Matthew**  
 Margaret Matthew  
*Matthew's Margaret*

#### 5.4.3 LOCATIONAL NOUNS

Locational nouns can occur as the head of locative NPs, which function as clausal adjuncts or as the predicate of a nonverbal clause (§13.4). Absolute location nouns cannot be modified, or determined by an article (27), but relational location nouns must be determined by the locative case article *lo* (28). This word class is described in §4.2.3, and locative NPs are described more fully in the following chapter on adjuncts.

- 27) **Go=toga [vine.]**  
 2SG=sit down  
*Sit down.*
- 28) **Mo kalo [lo ulu-i gai.]**  
 REAL climb LOC top-CONST tree  
*S/he is climbing at/to the top of the tree.*

#### 5.4.4 INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Independent pronouns do not commonly occur as the head of a subject NP, as the subject proclitic which is marked for person and number obligatorily occurs as the first element in a VP (§3.4.1), and therefore an independent pronoun is not necessary. However they can occur in this position, and the use of an independent pronoun as well as the subject proclitic functions to add emphasis (29).

- 29) **[Gide ] da=u ilo, ngie [ngire] ra=u haro.**  
 INSG.IN INSG.INSG=TEL know but 3NSG 3NSGS=TEL not.know  
*We know, but they don't know.*

In the case of object arguments, the pronominal object can be expressed either by an object enclitic, in the case of the singular or third person nonsingular arguments, or by an independent pronoun. The object enclitics and independent forms do not co-occur, and therefore, for those persons and numbers where there is an object enclitic, only one or the other may occur (§3.4.1). Older speakers state that in the singular and all third person

forms, for which there are object enclitics, these forms must be used, and to use an independent form is not acceptable. Thus while younger speakers utter sentences like (31) and (33) regularly, older speakers say that they shouldn't speak like that, as it isn't 'real' language. While this is clearly a recent change, I have caught speakers of 40 using independent pronouns in place of the clitics.

- 30) **Mo sina=go.**  
 REAL lie=2SGO  
*S/he lied to you.*
- 31) **Mo sina [i niko.]**  
 REAL lie PERS 2SG  
*S/he lied to you.*
- 32) **Go=bete=a lawe=eu.**  
 2SGS=give=3SGO DAT=1SGO  
*Give it to me.*
- 33) **Go=bete=a lawe [i neu.]**  
 2SGS=give=3SGO DAT PERS 1SG  
*Give it to me.*

In cases where the referent of a pronoun is not fully identifiable to the addressee, it may be further specified by nominal modifiers.

- 34) **Mo ware bubugi [gamai re tubui.]**  
 REAL call together 1NSG.EX PL woman  
*He called together us women.* (LV)
- 35) **[Gamai tangaloi maeto] ga=mo gani hinaga haro.**  
 1NSG.EX people black 1NSG.EXS=REAL eat food random  
*Us black people eat any kind of food.*
- 36) **[Gimiu maresu] ne=ni tu rorongo.**  
 2NSG child 2NSGS=IRR stay quietly  
*You children will just stay here.*

#### 5.4.5 DEMONSTRATIVES

The set of demonstratives occur in the same form as both pronominals and nominal modifiers, and can all occur, as an independent pronoun, as head of the NP.

- 37) [Ngaha] mo maraga.  
 this REAL get.up  
*This one got up.*
- 38) [Ngi-ngaha] gineu garea.  
 DEM-this thing good  
*This is a good thing.*
- 39) Go=wali [gi-hivo.]  
 2SGS=take DEM-down  
*Take that one down there.*

#### 5.4.6 QUANTIFIERS AND NUMERALS

Quantifiers and numerals, while more commonly modifying the head, can themselves occur as the head of the NP. Both cardinal (40 and 41) and ordinal (42) numerals can act as the NP head.

- 40) [Gai-rue] ra=ru mo vanga boe.  
 NUM-two 3NSGS=DL REAL feed pig  
*Two fed the pigs.*

(EK008)

- 41) [Gatigale] na=hivo na=utu na mavai-ni  
 NUM:one 3SGS=go.down 3SGS=collect.water ACC salt.water-CONST  
 ga-da hinaga.  
 CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP food  
*One go down and collect the salt water for our food.*

(JTT015)

- 42) [Gai-lime-gi] boe gogona.  
 NUM-five-NR pig special  
*The fifth one is a special pig.*

(APK010)

- 43) [Lavasigi] ra=u wehe na boe.  
 some 3NSGS=TEL kill ACC pig  
*Some killed pigs.*

- 44) **Mo gani [dolegi.]**  
 REAL eat all  
*S/he ate/is eating it all.*
- 45) **[Tuegi] mo vano.**  
 other REAL go  
*Another one went.*
- 46) **[Sao] ra=u tubu, [sao] ra=hi tubu tea.**  
 many 3NSGS=TEL sprout many 3NSGS=NEG sprout NEG  
*Many sprouted, many didn't.*

#### 5.4.7 NOMINALISATIONS

In Ambae a noun can be formed from a verb either by reduplication or by one of two nominalising suffixes, and these nominalisations can occur as the head of an NP. The derivation of nouns by reduplication is discussed in §12.10.1, and the nominalising suffixes are discussed in this section.

##### 5.4.7.1 NOMINALISING SUFFIX -ANA

Nominalisation with the suffix *-ana* is not a productive process, and neither the types of verbs which can be nominalised, nor the meanings of the nominalisations, are predictable. There are only nine verbs in my corpus which can be nominalised with *-ana*, and some of these are transitive, others intransitive, some active, others stative-inchoative. Following is an exhaustive list of the verbs and their nominalisations:

<i>bubugi</i>	'to come together'	<i>bubugiana</i>	'togetherness'
<i>bulu</i>	'to join'	<i>buluana</i>	'friend'
<i>domi</i>	'to think'	<i>domiana</i>	'thought'
<i>garea</i>	'to be good'	<i>gareana</i>	'goodness'
<i>harigi</i>	'to thank'	<i>harigiana</i>	'thanks'
<i>mate</i>	'to be dead'	<i>mateana</i>	'corpse, black magic'
<i>mwaso</i>	'to be alive'	<i>mwasoana</i>	'life force'
<i>tabe</i>	'to love, respect'	<i>tabeana</i>	'thanks, present'
<i>tarani</i>	'to want'	<i>taraniana</i>	'wanting, desire'

- 47) **Na=ni veve [na no-ku harigi-ana] lawe i gimiu dolegi.**  
 1SGS=IRR tell ACC CL.GEN-1SGP thank-NR DAT PERS 2NSG all  
*I will say my thanks to all of you.*



- 48) **Ra=u bete [na no-ku tabe-ana.]**  
 3NSGS=TEL give ACC CL.GEN-1SGP love-NR  
*They gave me a present.*

#### 5.4.7.2 NOMINALISING SUFFIX -gi

The suffix *-gi* is a productive nominaliser which derives nouns from stative-inchoative intransitive verbs. The derived nominalisation has the meaning, 'one which is in the state described by V.' Some examples of verbs nominalised with *-gi* are:

<i>angoga</i>	'to be yellow'	<i>angogagi</i>	'a yellow one'
<i>biti</i>	'to be small'	<i>bitigi</i>	'a small one'
<i>hasi</i>	'to be bad'	<i>hasigi</i>	'a bad one'
<i>manivinivi</i>	'to be thin'	<i>manivinivigi</i>	'a thin one'
<i>mena</i>	'to be ripe'	<i>menagi</i>	'a ripe one'
<i>mwaso</i>	'to be alive'	<i>mwasogi</i>	'a live one'

- 49) **Mo wogi [lo malea-gi ngihie] taligu.**  
 REAL work LOC old-NR that again  
*He worked in the old one again.*

(RTR024)

*-gi* nominalisations often occur as the predicate in a nonverbal equational clause, and in many cases this nominalised expression shows little difference in meaning from its verbal counterpart (50).

- 50) **Sege vo tuegi [qaro-gi,] da=ni bubugi lu-ne tuegi.**  
 or if other raw-NR 1NSG.INS=IRR together on-3SGP other  
**Sege vo ngire vunu ra=u qaro, da=mo sala-sala**  
 or if 3NSG then 3NSGS=TEL raw 1NSG.INS=REAL REDUP-go.away  
**dene=a.**  
 ABL=3SGO  
*Or if one is raw, we'll come together with the other one. Or if they are both raw, we'll go away from it.*
- 51) **Ngie u biti.**  
 3SG TEL small  
*S/he/it is small.*
- 52) **Ngie biti-gi.**  
 3SG small-NR  
*S/he/it is a/the small one.*

## 5.5 HEADLESS NOUN PHRASES

## 5.5.1 RELATIONAL CLASSIFIERS

It is possible for a relational classifier marked with a possessive suffix indicating the person and number of the possessor to occur in an NP where the possessee head is not specified. This can be as in (53), a non-verbal clause, where the subject is 'it', the speaker and addressee are aware of the referent of this pronoun, and the relational classifier is functioning as the predicate to state the possessor of the object. Alternatively, in sentences (54) and (55), the exact referents are not specified, but the food and drink relational classifiers are used, and thus it is clear that the referents of the NP are something which the 'possessors' are intended to eat and drink respectively, and it is not necessary to specify the item which is possessed.

- 53) **Ngie [no-na.]**  
 3SG CL.GEN-3SGP  
*It is hers/his.*

- 54) **Na=ni gugu [ga-da (hinaga).]**  
 1SGS=IRR cook CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP (food)  
*I will cook our food.*

- 55) **Go=bete [me-na.]**  
 2SGS=give CL.DRINK-3SGP  
*Give him/her some drink.*

## 5.6 ARTICLES

There are seven articles in Ambae; three of these are case marking articles, *na*, *a* and *lo* (§3.5.3), one functions to mark proper nouns, *i*, two are plural articles, *re* and *ira*, and one is an indefinite article, *tea* (§4.13).

While the accusative article *na* and the plural and indefinite articles are consistently used, both *a* and *i* are regularly omitted. The nominative article *a* in particular seems to be rarely used in modern speech, while *i* more regularly occurs. It would appear that both articles are being lost as a result of lack of significant function in marking the various types of NPs.

5.6.1 ACCUSATIVE ARTICLE *NA*

The accusative article *na* determines the head noun of object NPs (§3.4.3.1); preceding a direct object (56), or the object of a preposition (57-58) .

- 56) **Da=mo bulu [na vale-da.]**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL build ACC house-1NSG.INP  
*We build our house.*
- 57) **Da=ni veve lawe [na tangaloi.]**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR tell DAT ACC people  
*We will tell the people.*
- 58) **Mo vano huri [na gamali.]**  
 REAL go ALL ACC nakamal  
*S/he went towards the nakamal.*

There are instances where the common article does not occur before a direct object NP, when the head noun is the possessee in a possessive construction. The factors determining the use of articles within the possessive construction are discussed in §7.8.

- 59) **Ra=ni bete [ga-mu toa.]**  
 3NSGS=IRR give CL.FOOD-2SGP chicken  
*They will give you a/some chicken.*

#### 5.6.2 NOMINATIVE ARTICLE *A*

The nominative article *a* determines the head noun of an NP which is not governed by a verb (§3.4.3.2). It therefore occurs before the head of the subject NP (60), or in non-verbal clauses (61).

- 60) **[A langi] mo here.**  
 NOM wind REAL blow  
*The wind blew.*
- 61) **[A gineu ngaha] [a gineu garea.]**  
 NOM thing this NOM thing good  
*This thing is a good thing.*

This article is, however, falling out of use, and is rarely used by Lolovoli speakers. Example (62) shows a non-verbal clause with the same structure as (61), occurring without the articles. Note that this difference is not due to animacy, as all nouns can be preceded by the article (63).

- 62) **[Tangaloi ngaha] [tangaloi hasi-gi.]**  
 person this person bad-NR  
*This person is a bad person.*

- 63) [Ngie] [a tangaloi-ni matu-maturu vorogi.]  
 3SG NOM person-CONST REDUP-sleep without.anything  
*She is a big sleeper.*

When such examples are elicited, some informants use the article, most do not. Others state that the use of the article is optional (64).

- 64) [(A) loko lolo diringi] hi manoga tea tau.  
 NOM pudding in stone.oven NEG cooked NEG yet  
*The pudding in the oven isn't cooked yet.*

### 5.6.3 LOCATIVE ARTICLE *LO*

Common nouns can also occur in a locative NP, functioning as a clausal (65) or phrasal adjunct (66), preceded by the locative article *lo*. Relational location nouns can only occur in locative NPs, and must always be determined by the locative article (67). Absolute location nouns are never determined by an article (68). Locative NPs are discussed in detail in the following chapter on adjuncts (§6.6.2).

- 65) Mo toga [lo qana.]  
 REAL sit LOC mat  
*S/he is sitting on the mat.*
- 66) [Ngire lo lagi-ana] ra=u wetu.  
 3NSG LOC marry-NR 3NSGS=TEL dance  
*The people at the wedding danced.*
- 67) Mo toga [lo ulu-gi.]  
 REAL sit LOC top-AL  
*S/he is sitting on top.*
- 68) Na=ni hage [Vila.]  
 1SGS=IRR go.up Vila  
*I will go (up) to Vila.*

### 5.6.4 PERSONAL ARTICLE *I*

The personal article *i* is also falling out of use, although it does appear to be more consistently used than the nominative, *a*. This article can precede all nouns which are members of the subclass of proper nouns, which includes personal names (69), kinship

terms (70), and the interrogative pronoun, *hine* (71). Independent pronouns can also be preceded by the personal article when functioning as the head of an NP (72). Note that example (69) demonstrates the way in which use of the personal article is falling from use. It still often (although certainly not in all cases) occurs before proper nouns, but less often before kinterms and pronouns. All of these examples with the personal article have been taken from natural text, but when asked, informants stated that they are acceptable without the articles in all cases.

- 69) **Neu hena-ku i Aaron Aka, netu-i i Leonard Lingi.**  
 1SG name-1SGP PERS Aaron Aka child-CONST PERS Leonard Lingi  
*My name is Aaron Aka, the son of Leonard Lingi.*
- 70) **I tama-ku u dumu=e lawe=eu.**  
 PERS father-1SGP TEL tell-3SGO DAT-1SGO  
*My father told it to me.*
- 71) **I hine mo tarani=e?**  
 PERS who REAL want=3SGO  
*Who wants it?*
- 72) **i gide bagataha**  
 PERS 1NSG.IN today  
*us today*

With regards personal pronouns, the article seems less likely to occur before a pronoun in subject position, and where it occurs before the object of a preposition, it often appears to be suffixed to the preposition itself.

- 73) **Na=ni bete na mane lawe-i gimiu.**  
 1SGS=IRR give ACC money DAT-PERS 2NSG  
*I will give you some money.*

#### 5.6.5 PLURAL ARTICLE *re*

The plural article *re* is restricted to use with kinship terms (74), and common nouns where the referent is human (75). It cannot determine a common noun which has an inanimate (76) or non-human animate (77) referent. As number is always indicated by the subject pronoun which obligatorily precedes the verb, use of the plural article is certainly optional with subject NPs, with no resulting ambiguity. Even with non-subject NPs however, use of the plural article is optional, with possible ambiguity in some instances. While the object

NP in (78) is more likely to have a singular referent, the sentence in isolation is ambiguous, and it is possible that the referent of the object NP may be plural.

- 74) **re retahi-ku**  
 PL mother-1SGP  
*My mothers*

- 75) **(Re) tubui dolegi ra=u hivo lo tahi.**  
 PL woman all 3NSGS=TEL go.down LOC sea  
*All of the women have gone down to the sea.*

- 76) **\*re vale-da**  
 PL house-1NSG.INP  
*our houses*

- 77) **\*re giriu**  
 PL dog  
*the dogs*

- 78) **Mo wehe na maresu**  
 REAL hit ACC child  
*S/he hit the child(ren).*

The plural article can be reduplicated to form an article, *rere*, meaning ‘all’ (§12.7.3).

- 79) **...na=mo harigi gimiu re-re tama-ku, re-re**  
 1SGS=REAL thank 2NSG REDUP-PL father-1SGP REDUP-PL  
**tue-ku, re-re haqe-ku, re-re retahi-ku...**  
 same.sex.sib-1SGP REDUP-PL op.sex.sib-1SGP REDUP-PL mother-1SGP  
*...I give thanks to you, all of my fathers, all of my brothers, all of my sisters, all of my mothers...*

#### 5.6.6 IRE ‘ALL’

The article *ire* ‘all’ also determines nouns denoting human referents.

- 80) **ire tamaragai**  
 all old.man  
*all the old men*

The forms *rere* and *ire* have the same meaning, but while before certain nominals either one can occur interchangeably (81), for other nominals only one of the forms is possible. Only *rere* (83), not *ire* (82), can determine kinterms, but for common nouns which have human referents, the choice of which nouns can be determined by which article is lexically conditioned.

- 81) **ire mwalakelo/ vavine re-re mwalakelo/ vavine**  
 all youth/ woman REDUP-PL youth/ woman  
*all the young people/women*
- 82) **\*ire tue-ku/ tama-da**  
 all same.sex.sib-1SGP father-1NSG.INP  
*\*all my sisters (brothers)/our fathers*
- 83) **re-re tue-ku/ tama-da**  
 REDUP-PL same.sex.sib-1SGP father-1NSG.INP  
*all my sisters (brothers)/our fathers*
- 84) **ire mwera/ tangaloi**  
 all man person  
*all the men/people*
- 85) **\*Re-re mwera/ tangaloi**  
 REDUP-PL man person  
*\*all the men/people*

#### 5.6.7 TEA 'SOME'

*Tea* 'some' is an indefinite plural article which can only determine common nouns, and only occurs in direct object NPs. It can mark either mass nouns (86-87) or count nouns (88), and it can occur before a relational classifier in a headless NP (89). It cannot determine the head noun in a subject NP or a PP, instead the quantifier *lavasigi* 'some' modifies these nouns (§5.7.3.2).

- 86) **Go=gani [tea ige.]**  
 2SGS=eat some fish  
*Eat some fish.*
- 87) **...ra=ni bete [tea mane lawe i gamai.]**  
 3NSGS=IRR give some money DAT PERS 1NSG.EX  
*...they will give some money to us.*

- 88) **Na=ni weli [tea ga-ku angai?]**  
 1SGS=IRR take some CL.FOOD-1SGP canarium  
*Can I take some canarium nuts for me to eat.*

- 89) **Go=ni bete [tea no-ku.]**  
 2SGS=IRR give some CL.GEN-1SGP  
*You must give some to me.*

## 5.7 MODIFICATION OF THE HEAD

### 5.7.1 NOMINAL MODIFIERS

The head noun can be modified within the NP by another noun, which functions to further define certain characteristics of the referent, and which results in a compound form. Only a pair of common nouns can combine to form a compound. Compounds can be formed to express such qualities of the head noun as sex (90), age (91), or material which an object is made from (92 and 93).

- 90) **Mo baba [na maresu mwera.]**  
 REAL give.birth ACC child male  
*She gave birth to a baby boy.*
- 91) **[Vavine taqulugu gatigale tau Tanna] mo hage.**  
 woman young.girl NUM:one DEN Tanna REAL go.up  
*A young woman from Tanna went up.*
- 92) **Go=wali [na watu-raha vulvulue.]**  
 2SGS=take ACC stone-grate tree.fem  
*Get the tree fern pudding grater.*
- 93) **Mo gagaliu [na ara watu.]**  
 REAL jump ACC fence stone  
*He jumped over the stone fence.*

The most common means of describing various characteristics of an object is by the associative construction, which can be used to specify such things as the type of an entity (94 and 95) or the purpose of a particular item (96). Associative constructions are described in detail in §7.6.

- 94) **No=mo gani [na loko-i qeta.]**  
 1SGS=REAL eat ACC pudding-CONST taro  
*I am eating taro pudding.*



- 95) **Mavugo da=mo gani [na bongi-ni vie.]**  
 tomorrow INSG.INS=REAL eat ACC death.feast-CONST giant.taro  
*Tomorrow we eat a funerary feast to celebrate the 'day of the giant taro'.*
- 96) **Go=utu [na wai-ni ga-garu no-i Rohan.]**  
 2SGS=collect.water ACC water-CONST REDUP-bathe CL.GEN-CONST Rohan  
*Get Rohan's bath water.*

### 5.7.2 STATIVE-INCHOATIVE VERB MODIFIERS

All stative-inchoative intransitive verbs can have either a predicative or attributive function. As a predicate they must be preceded by a subject proclitic (97). As an attribute, they modify nouns within the NP, and are not preceded by a subject proclitic (98).

- 97) **[Netu-re ra=u biti.]**  
 child-3NSGP 3NSGS=TEL small  
*Their children are small.*
- 98) **[Netu-re biti] mo ngara.**  
 child-3NSGP small REAL cry  
*Their small baby is crying.*

Only common (99) and proper nouns (100) can be modified by a stative-inchoative verb.

- 99) **hinaga gogona**  
 food special  
*special (ceremonial) food*
- 100) **tubu-ku mate**  
 grandparent-1SGP dead  
*my dead grandparent(s)*

Stative-inchoative verbs describe such qualities as dimension (101), colour (102), age (103) and value (104).

- 101) **Ra=u hivo lolo [tahi bue.]**  
 3NSGS=TEL go.down in sea deep  
*They went out into the deep sea.*

- 102) **No=mo vatu [na qana mavute.]**  
 1SGS=REAL weave ACC mat white  
*I am weaving a white mat.*
- 103) **[Tubui sesea] mo rivu na bula-na veveo.**  
 woman old REAL plant ACC CL.NAT-3SGP pandanus  
*The old woman is planting her pandanus.*
- 104) **Mo gugu [na hinaga garea.]**  
 REAL good ACC food good  
*S/he cooked a good meal.*

While stative-inchoative verbs can modify the head noun in an NP, generally a quality of an object is expressed predicatively by a stative verbal clause. (105) is a grammatical sentence, but (106) is the way such a statement would usually be made. The object is introduced into the discourse as the object of an active transitive verb, and then it can occur as the subject of a stative verb, in order to describe a quality of the object.

- 105) **Go=lehi na boe lague.**  
 2SGS=look ACC pig big  
*Look at the big pig.*
- 106) **Go=lehi na boe ngihie. U lague mwere.**  
 2SGS=look ACC pig that TEL big INT  
*Look at that pig. It's really big.*

### 5.7.3 NUMBER

It is not necessary to mark number in the NP. If the NP is functioning as the subject argument, the obligatory subject proclitics are distinguished for singular, nonsingular and dual, and if the NP is an object or oblique argument, then the number may be indexed by the object enclitic, or, if there is no object marking, expression of number within the NP is optional, based on a number of factors.

There are various strategies for marking number in the NP:

- the plural article *re* or *ire*;
- the third person nonsingular pronoun *ngire*;
- a numeral;
- a quantifier; or
- reduplication of the noun or verb.

The function and distribution of the plural articles *re* and *ire* was discussed above (§5.6.5 and 5.6.6), and reduplication as a means of specifying plurality is discussed in §12.6. The other three means of specifying number, by the third person nonsingular pronoun *ngire* or by numerals or quantifiers, are discussed below.

### 5.7.3.1 THIRD PERSON NONSINGULAR PRONOUN *NGIRE*

When modifying the head noun in an NP, *ngire* serves to specify that the referent of the head is plural. Whereas the plural article *re* is limited to occurring with human nominals, *ngire* can occur with any noun.

- 107) **Ra=u weli [na no-ra gineu ngire.]**  
 3NSGS=TEL take ACC CL.GEN-3NSGP thing 3NSG  
*They took their things (those things of theirs).*

- 108) **Mo lai [tubui lo vale-na dolegi ngire.]**  
 REAL take woman LOC house-3SGP all 3NSG  
*He took all of his wives (all those wives of his).*

While in some cases *ngire* is simply a marker of plurality, it can carry some deictic force, appearing to act as a plural form of the demonstrative *ngihie* 'that'.

- 109) **[Tangaloi ngihie] u haro.**  
 person that TEL not.know  
*That person doesn't know.*
- 110) **[Tangaloi ngire] ra=u haro.**  
 person 3NSG 3NSGS=TEL not.know  
*Those people don't know.*

It is possible for the plural article *re* and *ngire* to appear together, in which case the anaphoric nature of the pronoun is more clear. If (112) occurred without the nonsingular pronoun, the result would be that the NP was simply marked as plural, with no deictic force (113).

- 111) **ngire re tubui**  
 3NSG PL woman  
*they the women*
- 112) **re tamaragai ngire**  
 PL old.man 3NSG  
*those old men*

- 113) **re tamaragai**  
 PL old.man  
*the old men*

## 5.7.3.2 QUANTIFIERS

While members of the class of quantifiers can function as the head of an NP, they most commonly occur as posthead modifiers. Members of this class are:

<i>dolegi</i>	'all'
<i>lavasigi</i>	'some'
<i>sao</i>	'much, many'
<i>tea gaivihe</i>	'(a) few'
<i>teri</i>	'many, plenty'
<i>tuegi</i>	'other'
<i>vataha</i>	'every'

Quantifiers can modify common nouns (114 and 115), proper nouns and pronouns (119 and 120), but not locational nouns. While sentences (116, 117 and 118) demonstrate how a member of the class of proper nouns can be modified by a quantifier, such modification is quite unusual, and in fact, by referring to proper noun referents as if they can be measured in quantity, the referents are being treated as if they are a class which has common noun status.

- 114) **Neu nu            geni [na   tavo            la-lavasigi,]   ngie   Kenneth**  
 1SG 1SGS:TEL eat   ACC Indian.almond REDUP-some but   Kenneth  
**u   geni=re        sao   vohogi.**  
 TEL eat=3NSGO   many completely  
*I ate some of the Indian almonds, but Kenneth ate lots more.*

- 115) **[Gavu-ku        dolegi]   ra=u        bibilu.**  
 clothes-1SGP   all        3NSGS=TEL wet  
*All my clothes are wet.*

- 116) **Hate, [John Tari   tuegi.]**  
 no   John Tari other  
*No, the other John Tari.*

- 117) **[Haqe-ku        tuegi] u        mate ribi        beno.**  
 op.sex.sib-1SGP other TEL die   long.time already  
*My other brother has already been dead for a long time.*

- 118) [Netu-ku dolegi] ra=hi sigulu tea.  
 offspring-1SGP all 3NSG=NEG school NEG  
*None of my children went to school. (Lit. All of my children didn't go to school.)*
- 119) [Ngire lavasigi] ra=mo toga lo taon.  
 3NSG some 3NSGS=REAL live LOC town  
*Some of them live in town.*
- 120) [Gamai sao] ga=u hivo lo tahi, [ngire tea  
 1NSG.EX many 1NSG.EXS=TEL go.down LOC sea 3NSG some  
 gai-vihe hogosie] ra=u tu lo vale.  
 NUM-how.many only 3NSGS=TEL stay LOC house  
*Lots of us went down to the sea, and only a few of them stayed at the house.*

While the quantifier slot is post-nominal, there is one modifier, *vataha* 'every, each', which occurs before the head.

- 121) Na=veve garea-gi gimiu huri [na vataha gineu teri]...  
 1SGS=say good-APPL 2NSG PURP ACC every thing thousand  
*I thank you for all of the many things...*

(JH008)

### 5.7.3.3 NUMERALS

Common nouns (122), proper nouns (124 and 125) and independent pronouns (126) can all be modified by numerals, whereas locational nouns cannot.

- 122) Da=mo vano huri [na higao teri vaga-rue.]  
 1NSG.INS=REAL go ALL ACC year thousand CAUS-two  
*We are going towards the year 2000.*

(FRT135)

- 123) [Karu-ne gatawale] u hesi.  
 leg-3SGP NUM:one TEL bad  
*One of his legs is bad.*

- 124) [Tue-ku gai-tolu] ra=u mared beno, hogosie neu  
 same.sex.sib-1SGP NUM-three 3NSGS=TEL marry already only 1SG

**hate tau.**

NEG yet

*My three sisters are already married, only me not yet.*

- 125) **Go=lehi na nunu-i [Catriona gai-rue]; Catriona biti**  
 2SGS=look ACC image-CONST Catriona NUM-two Catriona small

**to-na Catriona laque.**

COM-3SGP Catriona big

*Look at the photo of the two Catrionas; little Catriona with big Catriona.*

- 126) **[Gide gai-vesi hogosie] da=ni vano.**  
 1NSG.INS NUM-four only 1NSG.INS=IRR go

*Just the four of us will go.*

The interrogative *gaivihe* ‘how many’ is a member of the class of numerals, and can modify common (127) and proper nouns (128) and pronouns (129).

- 127) **Ne=u vene [na qaratu gai-vihe]?**  
 2NSGS=TEL shoot ACC flying.fox NUM-how.many

*How many flying foxes did you shoot?*

- 128) **[I tue-mu gai-vihe] ra=mo toga Vila?**  
 PERS same.sex.sib-2SGP NUM-how.many 3NSGS=REAL live Vila

*How many of your brothers live in Vila?*

- 129) **[Ngire gai-vihe] ra=ni wetu?**  
 3NSG NUM-how.many 3NSGS=IRR dance

*How many of them will dance?*

Where a common noun is modified by the numeral ‘one’, this is often an indication of indefiniteness or non-specificity.

- 130) **[Tubui gatigale] mo toga lo turegi.**  
 woman NUM:one REAL live LOC road

*An old woman was living on the road.*

(JTT006)

Ordinal numerals are formed by suffixation of the cardinal forms with the suffix *-gi*.

- 131) **lo bongi gai-vesi-gi**  
 LOC day NUM-four-NR  
*on Thursday (on the fourth day)*

#### 5.7.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

Only common nouns and independent pronouns can be modified by demonstratives in the NP. A common noun or a pronoun can be determined by either of the basic demonstratives *ngaha* 'this' (132) or *ngihie* 'that' (133), or by a demonstrative derived from one of the members of the class of directionals (§4.12, §8.7.1), which is prefixed with the demonstrative formative *gi-/ngi-* (134).

- 132) **[ngire ngaha,] ngire hiro-hirohi.**  
 3NSG this 3NSG REDUP-old  
*Those ones, they are very old.*

(AD016)

- 133) **[Maresu ngihie] mo ngara mwere.**  
 child that REAL cry INT  
*That child was crying so much.*

- 134) **Go=tai [na gai ngi-vano.]**  
 2SGS=chop ACC tree DEM-across.there  
*Chop that tree over there.*

#### 5.7.5 POSSESSION

Possessive constructions are discussed in detail in §7. There are two main types of possessive constructions, direct and indirect constructions. In a direct construction the possessor is marked on the possessee, the head noun of the NP (135), whereas in an indirect construction the possessor is marked on a relational classifier (136).

- 135) **Mo teve [na lima-na.]**  
 REAL cut ACC hand-3SGP  
*S/he cut her/his hand.*

- 136) **Tubui mo rivu [bula-na veveo.]**  
 old.woman REAL plant CL.NAT-3SGP pandanus  
*The old woman is planting/planted her pandanus.*

Further, the two types of construction differ depending on whether the possessor is expressed in pronominal (as above) or nominal form. If the possessor is a pronominal in a direct possessive construction, the possessive suffix is attached to the head noun. In the case of an indirect construction the possessor suffixes to the classifier, which precedes the head noun. If the possessor is a nominal, then in the case of a direct possessive construction, a linking 'construct' suffix is attached to the head noun, and the possessor follows (137). In the case of an indirect construction, the construct suffix attaches to the classifier, which follows the head noun, and precedes the possessor (138). The possessee thus precedes the possessor in all cases, with the exception of indirect constructions in which the possessor is expressed by a pronominal.

- 137) **Mo wesi [na karu-i boe.]**  
 REAL tie ACC leg-CONST pig  
*S/he is tying/tied the pig's legs.*

- 138) **Ra=mo rivu [na malogu bule-i Tambe.]**  
 3NSGS=REAL plant ACC kava CL.NAT-CONST Tambe  
*They are planting Tambe's kava.*

#### 5.7.6 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses modify the head noun of an NP. They can modify either common nouns (139-140) or proper nouns (141-142), but not locational nouns. The relative clause follows the head noun which it modifies, and is introduced by the relativiser *ngihie* if the head noun is singular, and *ngire* if the head noun is plural (143). The structure of relative clauses mirrors that of main clauses. A detailed analysis of relative clauses is given in §14.3.

- 139) **Gu ilo [na tangaloi [ngihie mo toga vano?]RC]NP**  
 2SGS:TEL know ACC person REL REAL sit there  
*Do you know the person who is sitting over there?*

- 140) **Bui mo loli na no-na sitoa [lolo vale [ngihie  
 Mum REAL make ACC CL.GEN-3SGP shop in house REL  
 gu meturu lolo-na.]RC]NP**  
 2SGS:TEL sleep inside-3SGP  
*Mum is making her shop in the house that you slept in.*

(letter-PG)

- 141) **[Tue-ku [ngihie mo toga Bakis]RC]NP mo huihui.**  
 same.sex.sib-1SGP REL REAL live Banks.Is. REAL teach  
*My brother who lives in the Banks Islands teaches.*



- 142) [John Tari [ngihie mo tabana lo post ovis]<sub>RC</sub>NP mo hage  
 John Tari REL REAL work LOC post office REAL go.up

**Australia.**

Australia

*John Tari who works at the post office has gone to Australia.*

- 143) Ra=mo wali [na vatu [ngire ra=u tunu=re  
 3NSGS=REAL carry ACC stone REL.PL 3NSGS=TEL roast=3NSGO

**lo avi.]<sub>RC</sub>NP**

LOC fire

*They got the stones that they had roasted on the fire.*

(LV)

### 5.7.7 LOCATIONAL ADJUNCTS

Any locational adjunct can modify a noun, whether it be: a prepositional phrase; or a locative NP which consists of either an absolute location noun, or a common or relational noun determined by the locative article *lo*. Locational adjuncts are discussed in detail in §6.6, but some examples are also given here to illustrate their function as modifiers in the NP.

Only those prepositional phrases which have a true (144) or noun-like (145) preposition (§4.15) as their head can modify the head of an NP. Prepositional phrases which have a verb-like preposition as the head only function as clausal adjuncts (§6.5).

- 144) [Tangaloi tau Australia] mo bete=a lawe=eu.  
 person DEN Australia REAL give=3SGO DAT=1SGO  
*Someone from Australia gave it to me.*

- 145) [Ngire lolo vale] ra=hi ga-gani tea tau.  
 3NSG in house 3NSGS=NEG REDUP-eat NEG already  
*They in the house haven't eaten yet.*

Common nouns (146), proper nouns (147) and pronouns (148) can be modified by a prepositional phrase, but locational nouns cannot. It is quite rare for the NP head to be modified by a prepositional phrase, particularly if it is a proper noun or pronoun.

- 146) [No-ku huihui tau Australia] u mwere=go.  
 CL.GEN-1SGP teacher DEN Australia TEL like=2SGO  
*My teacher from Australia is like you.*

- 147) **Na=ni toga lobe [i tue-ku tau lo west.]**  
 1SGS=IRR live near PERS same.sex.sib-1SGP DEN LOC west  
*I'll stay with my sister from the west.*
- 148) **[Ngire tau Maewo] ra=ni himei huri na lagi-ana.**  
 3NSG DEN Maewo 3NSGS=IRR go.down:to.sp PURP ACC marry-NR  
*Them (the people) from Maewo will come for the wedding.*

In most cases where the head of an NP is modified by a locative NP, it is a pronoun (149, 150 and 151). It could, however, also be a proper noun (152) or a common noun (153). The modifying locative NP could have an absolute location noun (149 and 152), directional (153), common noun (150) or relational noun (151) as its head.

- 149) **[Ngire Australia] ra=u haro i gide.**  
 3NSG Australia 3NSGS=TEL not.know PERS 1NSG.IN  
*They in Australia don't know us.*
- 150) **[Gamai dolegi lo sigulu] ga=u sege.**  
 1NSG.EX all LOC school 1NSG.EXS=TEL sick  
*All of us at school were sick..*
- 151) **[Ngire lo tavalu-gi] ra=ni tomue.**  
 3NSG LOC side-AL 3NSGS=IRR first.  
*Those on the other side will go first*
- 152) **[Retahi-de Santo] mo tabana lo casino.**  
 mother-1NSG.INP Santo REAL work LOC casino  
*Our mother in Santo works at the casino.*
- 153) **[Gai ngire hage] ra=mo vire.**  
 tree 3NSG up 3NSGS=REAL flower  
*Those trees up there are flowering.*

# 6

## Adjuncts

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### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

In §3.7 the different elements which can function as clausal adjuncts were set out in terms of their semantic type, with a summary of the kinds of constituents which occur within each type, according to word class, phrase type or type of adverbial clause. Here I discuss the different types of prepositional phrases and locational adjuncts, which can function as clausal adjuncts, and in certain cases as phrasal adjuncts. Locational adjuncts are treated separately as a semantic class of adjuncts, due to the variation in the types of constituents which can occur with this function. Some forms cause problems for analysis in terms of which word class they should be analysed as belonging to, whether they should be classed as articles, prepositions or nouns.

Relative clauses, which function as adjuncts in noun phrases, and adverbial clauses, which function as clausal adjuncts, are discussed in §14.

### 6.2 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

There are three functions of prepositional phrases (PPs) in Ambae. PPs most commonly occur as clausal adjuncts (1), but can also occur as phrasal adjuncts modifying the head noun of an NP (2), and as predicates of nonverbal clauses (3) (§13.4).

- 1)     **Ga=u**            **toga [lolo gamali.]pp**  
1NSG.EXS=TEL live in club.house  
*We lived in the club house.*
  
- 2)     **[Ngire retahigi [lolo gamali]pp]NP ra=mo inu malogu.**  
3NSG chief in club.house 3NSGS=REAL drink kava  
*The chiefs in the club house are drinking kava.*
  
- 3)     **[Ngire]NP [lolo gamali.]pp**  
3NSG in club.house  
*They are in the club house.*

Only PPs with true and noun-like prepositions as the head can have all three functions. PPs with a verb-like preposition as the head are limited to functioning as clausal adjuncts.

### 6.3 THE THREE TYPES OF PREPOSITIONS

There are three types of prepositions in Ambae: verb-like; noun-like; and true prepositions. The verb-like and noun-like prepositions are so-called because they exhibit some properties of verbs and nouns respectively, while certainly not functioning as full verbs and full nouns. True prepositions cannot be identified with any other word class.

Verb-like prepositions are like verbs in that they take object enclitics to mark the person and number of the object of the preposition. However, they do not have other characteristics of verbs, such as the ability to function as a predicate; they thus cannot take a subject argument, and be preceded by a subject proclitic. Nor can they take other markers which verbs may take, such as nominalising suffixes.

Noun-like prepositions are only identified with nouns by virtue of the fact that they take possessive suffixes rather than object enclitics to mark the object of the preposition. Otherwise, they do not have other nominal properties, such as ability to function as the argument of a predicate, or being preceded by an article.

True prepositions cannot be suffixed, but always require a full NP, and they cannot take pronominal objects. In the following examples, the true preposition, *tau* 'from, denizen of' has a full NP as its object (4), the noun-like preposition, *lobe* 'near, next to' can either take an object NP (5) or be suffixed with a possessive pronoun (6), and the verb-like preposition, *me* 'with' can either take an object NP (7) or have an object enclitic attached (8).

- 4)     **Tangaloi ngihie [tau lo vanue dolue.]pp**  
          person    that       DEN   LOC country different  
          *That person is from a different country.*
  
- 5)     **Mo toga [lobe na gai ngi-vano.]pp**  
          REAL sit    near    ACC tree   DEM-across  
          *S/he is sitting next to the tree over there.*
  
- 6)     **Go=vanai        [lobe-ku.]pp**  
          2SGS=go:to.sp   near-1SGP  
          *Come to me.*
  
- 7)     **Go=mese        gato [me na tangaloi ngihie.]pp**  
          2SGS=DEHOR speak COM ACC person    that  
          *Don't speak to that person.*

- 8) **Go=mese gato [me=eu.]pp**  
 2SGS=DEHOR speak COM=1 SGO  
*Don't speak to me.*

The prepositions, listed according to type, are:

### True prepositions:

<i>tau<sub>1</sub></i>	'denizen of, from'
<i>tau<sub>2</sub>/si</i>	Locative 'to, at'
<i>sara</i>	Locative 'to, at' (plural form of <i>tau<sub>2</sub>/si</i> )

### Noun-like prepositions:

<i>lobe</i>	'near, next to'
<i>lolo</i>	'in(side), into'
<i>lu</i>	'on'
<i>to-</i>	Comitative 'with'

### Verb-like prepositions:

<i>dene</i>	Ablative, Source 'from'
<i>gene</i>	Instrumental 'with' (common noun as object)
<i>gi</i>	Instrumental 'with' (proper noun as object), 'as'
<i>huri</i>	Allative 'towards', Purposive 'for', 'about'
<i>lawe</i>	Dative, Benefactive 'to'
<i>me</i>	Comitative, Confective 'with'
<i>mwere</i>	Manner 'like'

#### 6.3.1 STRUCTURE OF THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

$$PP \rightarrow PREP \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ \text{-possessive suffix} \\ \text{= object enclitic} \end{array} \right\}$$

The phrase structure specifies that the object of the preposition occurs as either a full NP, or in pronominal form as either a possessive suffix or an object enclitic, depending on the type of preposition. The person and number of the object of a verb-like or noun-like preposition are not indexed on the preposition if there is a full NP. This is a characteristic which verb-like and noun-like prepositions share with verbs and nouns; the governed object is realised as either an enclitic or a suffix, or as an overt NP, but never as both (§3.4.1). Thus sentences such as (9) and (12) are ungrammatical.

- 9)     **\*Ra=ni        lei=e            dene=a        na    maresu.**  
          3NSGS=IRR take=3SGO    ABL=3SGO ACC    child  
          *They will take it from the child.*
- 10)    **Ra=ni           lei=e            dene=a.**  
          3NSGS=IRR take=3SGO    ABL=3SGO  
          *They will take it from her/him.*
- 11)    **Ra=ni           lei=e            dene    na    maresu.**  
          3NSGS=IRR take=3SGO    ABL    ACC    child  
          *They will take it from the child.*
- 12)    **\*Mo    bete    na    moli    lawe=ra            re    maresu.**  
          REAL give ACC ball    DAT=3NSGO    PL    child  
          *He gave the ball to the children.*
- 13)    **Mo    bete    na    moli    lawe=ra.**  
          REAL give ACC ball    DAT=3NSGO  
          *He gave the ball to them.*
- 14)    **Mo    bete    na    moli    lawe    re    maresu.**  
          REAL give ACC ball    DAT    PL    child  
          *He gave the ball to the children.*

## 6.4 TRUE AND NOUN-LIKE PREPOSITIONS

Only the comitative noun-like preposition *to-* is discussed in this section, as the three true prepositions, and all other noun-like prepositions have locative meanings, and are discussed below in the section on locational adjuncts (§6.6).

### 6.4.1 COMITATIVE *TO-*

There are two comitative prepositions in Ambae, the noun-like form *to-*, and the more general verb-like preposition, *me*, which has a comitative/confective function (§6.5.6). *To-* is more restricted in its use, as the object referent must be human. Sentence (15) serves to illustrate the basic use of the preposition before an explanation is given of the complexity of the rules of its use.

- 15) **Ale, tubui to-na vagabui-ne ra=ru mo raha na**  
 CONJ woman COM-3SGP grandchild-3SGP 3NSGS=DL REAL grate ACC  
**ga-ra loko.**  
 CL.FOOD-3NSGP pudding

*Well, an old woman and/with her grandchild were making their laplap pudding.*

(DTT003)

As sentence (15) shows, the object of the preposition *to-* has a comitative role and can be seen as being involved or taking part in the event along with the referent of the core argument of the clause, in this sentence the subject. The indexing in the VP always specifies the person and number of the combined participants. Thus in sentence (15) the subject is marked as the third person dual, indexing the combined person and number of the participant expressed as the core argument, *tubui* 'old woman', and the participant with the comitative role, *vagabuine* 'her grandchild'.

This preposition is unusual in that it must be followed by the object noun with the comitative role, and it is also obligatorily marked with a possessive suffix. However, the possessive suffix does not indicate the person and number of the object of the preposition, as is the case with other prepositions, but rather indexes the person and number of either the combined participants or the non-comitative participant. Sentences (16-20), all referring to the same event, show the different ways in which the core argument and the possessive suffix can be expressed. In sentence (16) the subject argument of the clause is *neu* 'I' and this is cross-referenced by the possessive suffix attached to the preposition. However, this sentence can also be expressed as in sentence (17) where the possessive suffix on the preposition indexes the combined person and number of the subject and comitative participants, to match the verbal indexing. In sentence (18) the subject NP is expressed by the first person dual exclusive independent pronoun, *gamaru*, and thus is showing the combined person and number of the two participants. In this sentence the possessive suffix on *to-* also indexes the combined person and number of the two participants. Yet another variation is shown in sentence (19) where the subject NP indicates the person and number of both participants combined, but the possessive suffix on *to-* indicates only the person and number of the core argument, not the comitative participant which is the object of *to-*. Sentence (20) shows that the prepositional phrase is not necessarily adjacent to the core argument to which it refers, but can occur separated from it at the end of the clause.

- 16) **Neu to-ku i Jenita ga=ri hage.**  
 1SG COM-1SGP PERS Jenita 1NSG.EXS=DL:IRR go.up  
*Jenita and I will go up. (Lit. I with Jenita will go up.)*

- 17) **Neu to-maru i Jenita ga=ri hage.**  
 1SG COM-1NSG.EX:DL PERS Jenita 1NSG.EXS=DL:IRR go.up  
*Jenita and I will go up. (Lit. I, the two of us with Jenita will go up.)*

- 18) **Gamaru to-maru i Jenita ga=ri hage.**  
 INSG.EX:DL COM-1NSG.EX:DLP PERS Jenita 1NSG.EXS=DL:IRR go.up  
*Jenita and I will go up. (Lit. The two of us, the two of us with Jenita will go up.)*
- 19) **Gamaru to-ku i Jenita ga=ri hage.**  
 INSG.EX:DL COM-1SGP PERS Jenita 1NSG.EXS=DL:IRR go.up  
*Jenita and I will go up. (Lit. The two of us, I with Jenita will go up.)*
- 20) **Gamaru ga=ri hage to-ku i Jenita.**  
 INSG.EX:DL 1NSG.EXS=DL:IRR go.up COM-1SGP PERS Jenita  
*The two of us will go up, me with Jenita.*

Sentences (21-23) demonstrate a similar situation to the preceding examples, but the combined subject is plural rather than dual.

- 21) **Neu to-ku re maresu ga=u pignig lolo talu.**  
 1SG COM-1SGP PL child 1NSG.EXS=TEL picnic in garden  
*The children and I picnicked in the garden. (Lit. I with the children picnicked in the garden.)*
- 22) **Gamai to-mai re maresu ga=u pignig lolo talu**  
 1NSG.EX COM-1NSG.EXP PL child 1NSG.EXS=TEL picnic in garden  
*The children and I picnicked in the garden. (Lit. Us, I with the children picnicked in the garden.)*
- 23) **Ga=u pignig lolo talu to-mai re maresu.**  
 1NSG.EXS=TEL picnic in garden COM-1NSG.EXP PL child  
*We picnicked in the garden, (me/us) with the children.*

Most commonly the object of *to-* has a comitative role with respect to the subject argument of the clause, but it is possible for it to have a comitative role with respect to the object argument, as in the following sentence.

- 24) **Mo wehi gamaru to-ku i Rex.**  
 REAL hit 1NSG.EX:DL COM-1SGP PERS Rex  
*S/he hit me and Rex.*

It is not necessary for the non-comitative argument, as subject, to be expressed by an NP, as it is specified by the subject proclitic (25) and in some cases by the marking on *to-* as well (26).



- 25) **Ra=ru mo inu to-na Tagaro.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL drink COM-3SGP Tagaro  
*The two of them drank, he with Tagaro.*

(EK088)

- 26) **Da=ni inu to-de Cat.**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR drink COM-1NSG.INP Cat  
*We'll drink (us) with Cat.*

As discussed in §15.2.4, *me* can function as both a comitative/confective preposition and a conjunction, and there are some situations where *to-* can be used interchangeably with *me*.

- 27) **Mo maraga vano Vae Gaqaro to-na re netu-ne**  
 REAL get.up go Vae Gaqaro COM-3SGP PL offspring-3SGP  
**ra=mo hivo ra=mo ga-garu lolo tahi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.down 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-swim in sea  
*Once upon a time Vae Gaqaro and his children went down and swam in the sea.*

(LS1.004)

- 28) **Ale Vae Gaqaro me re netu-ne ra=hi rongo=e tea.**  
 CONJ Vae Gaqaro COM PL offspring-3SGP 3NSGS=NEG hear=3SGO NEG  
*But Vae Gaqaro and his children didn't hear him.*

(LS1.012)

*To-* is only used to refer to the relationship between human participants, or rather characters, as sentence (29) shows. The characters in the story are a hermit crab and a kingfisher, and as they are the main characters in the story, they are anthropomorphised, and referred to as if Hermit crab and Kingfisher are their names. If one were talking about some animals and saying, 'Once there was a hermit crab and a kingfisher', then the conjunction *me* would have to be used.

- 29) **Maraga vano, Gato to-na Higo.**  
 get.up go hermit.crab COM-3SGP kingfisher  
*Once there was Hermit crab and Kingfisher.*

(SGH001)

## 6.5 VERB-LIKE PREPOSITIONS

Prepositional phrases with a verb-like preposition as the head are restricted to functioning as clausal adjuncts. They do not occur as the predicate in a nonverbal clause, nor as a phrasal adjunct, modifying the head noun in an NP. Also, verb-like prepositions can only take an object NP which has a common noun, a proper noun or an independent pronoun as its head. A locative NP cannot occur as the object of a verb-like preposition.

6.5.1 ABLATIVE, SOURCE 'FROM': *DENE*

*Dene* can mark any of three semantic relations, where the object has a semantic role of source, ablative, or object of comparison. This preposition most commonly marks an ablative role, for motion away from an object.

- 30) **Mo mule dene=a.**  
 REAL go.home ABL=3SGO  
*He went home from it.*

(RTR013)

- 31) **Ga-mai qeta, mwere langi u dange=ra rovo dene**  
 CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP taro like wind TEL pull.out=3NSGO finish ABL  
**na tano.**  
 ACC ground  
*Our taro, well the wind had pulled them all out of the ground.*

(AH035)

The prepositional object can have a source role, meaning 'the point of origin or non-Actor cause of the action or state' (Foley 1976:91). Thus *dene* can serve to mark not simply motion away from a place or object, but also origin from a more abstract entity such as religion (32), or some other type of group.

- 32) **Ra=vanai dene na warelue hogo do-dolue.**  
 3NSGS=go.to.sp ABL ACC religion true REDUP-different  
*They come from really different religions.*

(RG033)

The notion of movement from a source need not imply physical motion, but can imply physical or metaphorical transfer from a point of origin.

- 33) **Weli mo rovo dene no-ku talai ngihie.**  
 glow REAL finish ABL CL.GEN-1SGP axe EMPH  
*My axe no longer glows. (Lit. The glow is finished from my axe.)*

(LTD034)

- 34) **Gineu ngihie mo sala dene gide lolo vanua-da.**  
 thing that REAL lose ABL 1NSG.IN in land-1NSG.INP  
*That thing is lost (has been lost) from us in our land.*

(FRT129)

- 35) **Siu, ne=rongo na leo-gi dene=eu...**  
 CONJ 2NSGS=hear ACC language-ASS ABL=1SGO  
*So, (you all) hear the word from me...*

(FRT004)

- 36) **Mo tule-gini=e lolo labute, vagahao dene vale-na.**  
 REAL bury-APPL=3SGO in bush far ABL house-3SGP  
*He buries her in the bush, far from his house.*

(EK021)

*Dene* is also used to express comparative relationships, and it is not difficult to demonstrate how a comparative expression could be derived from a source relationship. The prepositional source object represents the point from which a comparison can be made.

- 37) **Retahi malamala u biti dene manu dolegi tau lo ureure.**  
 mother k.o.bird TEL small SOURCE bird all DEN LOC world  
*The 'retahi malamala' is smaller than all the other birds in the world.*

- 38) **Mwere, vanua-ra, bataha u garea u garea u garea dene**  
 like land-3NSGP I.think TEL good TEL good TEL good SOURCE  
**na vanua-da.**  
 ACC land-1NSG.INP  
*Like, I think their land is much, much better than ours.*

(LD028)

- 39) **Niko gu toa siaga dene=eu ngie go=hi toa tea**  
 2SG 2SGS:TEL run hard SOURCE=1SGO but 2SGS=NEG run NEG  
**siaga dene Danuta.**  
 hard SOURCE Danuta  
*You ran faster than me, but you can't run faster than Danuta.*

(96.43)

- 40) **Mo mwamwavi mamingaha liu dene=a nainoa.**  
 REAL hot today exceed SOURCE=3SGO yesterday  
*It is hotter today than it was yesterday.*

(96.45)

*Dene* can also be used in temporal expressions, with a word from the class of temporals as its head, to refer to the relationship between time in the past relative to the present.

- 41) **Lolo ureure siseringaha gineu sao mwere ra=mo dori**  
 in world now thing many like 3NSGS=REAL change

**dene tuei mo vomai**  
 SOURCE before REAL go:to.sp

*In the world now, many things are changing from the past, and coming.*

(FRT033)

### 6.5.2 GAHE 'ALONE, BY ONESELF'

The preposition *gahe* is used to state that the subject performs the action of the verb alone. The object of the preposition must always be expressed in pronominal form, and be coreferential with the subject of the verb.

- 42) **Go=ni hage gahe=go.**  
 2SGS=IRR go.up alone=2SGO  
*You will go up alone.*

- 43) **Mo loli na hinaga gahe=a.**  
 REAL make ACC food alone=3SGO  
*S/he made the food on her/his own.*

- 44) **...ra=mo gani gahe=ra, gamai ga=mo gani**  
 3NSGS=REAL eat alone=3NSGO INSG.EX INSG.EXS=REAL eat  
**gahe i gamai.**  
 alone PERS INSG.EX  
*They ate by themselves, and we ate by ourselves.*

### 6.5.3 INSTRUMENTAL, STIMULUS 'WITH': GENE, GI

The prepositions *gene* and *gi* mark objects with an instrumental or stimulus role. The two prepositions are in complementary distribution in terms of the word class of the head of the object NP; objects expressed by common nouns have *gene* as their head, whereas proper noun objects have *gi* as their head. If the prepositional object is expressed in pronominal form, there is some variation in the preposition which is used. A first person singular object occurs as an object enclitic attached to *gi*, and third person objects also occur as object enclitics, but attached to *gene* rather than *gi*. Pronominals for all other persons and numbers are expressed as independent pronouns and occur as the object of *gi*.

The most common function of *gene* is to introduce an object with an instrumental role, i.e. an object which is used as an instrument by the agent, in carrying out the action of the verb. Prototypical examples of instrumental objects are those in (45) and (46). Only a common noun, whether it be bound (46 and 47) or free (48 and 49), can function as the object of *gene*. Sentence (45) shows the object realised as a third person singular object enclitic.

- 45) **Ra=u baka na watu maeto ngihie tau lo gai mwere ngihie**  
 3NSGS=TEL join ACC stone black that LOC LOC wood like that  
**ale ra=mo tai na aka-ra gene=a.**  
 so 3NSGS=REAL chop ACC canoe-3NSGP INST=3SGO  
*They joined the black stone to a stick like that, and then they made their canoes with it.*  
 (AA065)
- 46) **Da=mo woro gene lima-da.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL squeeze.COCO INST hand-1NSG.INP  
*We squeeze coconut milk with our hands.*  
 (ML044)
- 47) **Neu nu leo gene mata-ku.**  
 1SG 1SGS:TEL see INST eye-1SGP  
*I saw with my own eyes.*  
 (LT1)
- 48) **Ga=voli na vavine gene ngava hangavulu.**  
 1NSG.EXS=buy ACC woman INST length ten  
*We buy women (i.e. bride price) with 'ngava hangavulu' mats.*  
 (LW029)
- 49) **Mo huihui=re gene veveo.**  
 REAL teach=3NSGO INST weaving  
*She taught them (with) weaving.*  
 (SN1.080)

If the predicate is an emotion, the object of the preposition is a cause or stimulus. The relationship between the instrumental and stimulus role can be explained by the fact that a stimulus is something which is instrumental in bringing about the result of the action of the verb. The following examples show the prepositional object as something which is a stimulus of a feeling of happiness (50 and 51), fear (52 and 53) or shame (55 and 56), and demonstrate the distribution of *gene* and *gi* according to the word class of the object.

- 50) **I retahi-ne to-na i tama-na ra=ru mo rongo**  
 PERS mother-3SGP COM-3SGP PERS father-3SGP 3NSGS=DL REAL feel  
**garea gene=a.**  
 good INST=3SGO  
*His mother and father are happy because of/with him.*  
 (LD020)

- 51) **Ra=ru mo rongo garea gi netu-re biti vora.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL feel· good INST child-3NSGP small born  
*The two of them are happy with their new born baby.*  
 (LD013)
- 52) **Maresu dolegi ra=mo matagu gene tamate.**  
 child all 3NSGS=REAL afraid INST devil  
*All children are afraid of the devil.*  
 (96.88)
- 53) **No=mo matagu gi Boe Biti; vaiteu vi=ni wehe i**  
 1SGS=REAL afraid INST pig little careful 3SG.IRRS=IRR kill PERS  
**gide.**  
 1NSG.IN  
*I'm afraid of Boe Biti; careful, he might kill us.*  
 (96.8)
- 54) **Go=mese matagu gi=eu.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR afraid INST=1SGO  
*Don't be afraid of me.*
- 55) **Go=ni mas mamai gene retahigi ngire.**  
 2SGS=IRR must shame INST chief 3NSG  
*You must feel shame with those chiefs.*
- 56) **...da=ni mamai gi re tama-da...**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR shame INST PL father-1NSG.INP  
*...we should feel shame with our fathers...*  
 (FRT100)
- Gene* and *gi* are also used to specify that the subject of the verb 'takes the form of' the referent of object of the preposition. *Gene* marks a common noun (57), and *gi* a proper noun (58).
- 57) **Ale vavine ngihie mo vanai gene tamte-gi.**  
 so woman that REAL come INST spirit-AL  
*So the woman came back as a spirit.*  
 (EK034)
- 58) **Mo vanai gi Garivi.**  
 REAL come INST rat  
*She came as Rat.*  
 (EK043)

6.5.4 ALLATIVE 'TO', PURPOSIVE 'FOR', 'ABOUT': *HURI*

The word *huri* has a number of different meanings and functions, covering different word classes. It is a transitive verb, 'to follow', a complementiser, and a preposition with several different functions. One of the functions of *huri* as a preposition is to mark the allative, for 'motion towards' an object. In this case the object is usually a common noun (59 and 60), but it can be a proper noun (61).

- 59) **Ra=mo hue ra=vanai huri na vanua-da, mwere**  
 3NSGS=REAL paddle 3NSGS=go:to.sp ALL ACC island-1 NSG.INP like  
**Ambae...**  
 Ambae

*They paddled towards our land, like Ambae...*

(AA022)

- 60) **Ga=mo toa huri na vale va-lehe**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL run ALL ACC house across-DIST  
*We ran for that house there.*

(AH011)

- 61) **Mo toa huri retahi-ne.**  
 REAL run ALL mother-3SGP  
*S/he ran for her/his mother.*

Another function of *huri* is to mark a purposive role, where the action of the verb is performed by the subject for a particular reason, or in order to produce a particular effect. The head of the object NP can be a common noun (62 and 63), a proper noun (65) or an independent pronoun (66), or the object can be expressed by an object enclitic (64).

- 62) **Na=ni vano huri na tigo.**  
 1SGS=IRR go PURP ACC k.o.dance  
*I will go for the Tigo dance.*

(DM016)

- 63) **Go=mo hamai huri na havai?**  
 2SGS=REAL go.up:to.sp PURP ACC what  
*What have you come up for?*

(DTT026)

- 64) **Go=mo hamai huri=e?**  
 2SGS=REAL go.up:to.sp PURP=3SGO  
*What have you come up for?*

(DTT032)

- 65) **Bolisi ra=u hamai huri Baldwin.**  
 police 3NSGS=TEL go.up:to.sp PURP Baldwin  
*The police came up for Baldwin.*

- 66) **No=mo himei huri gimiu.**  
 1SGS=REAL go.down:to.sp PURP 2NSG  
*I've come down for you.*

With speech act verbs, *huri* is used to introduce the object which describes what is being spoken about. This can be expressed as a common noun (67) or a proper noun (68), or in pronominal form (69).

- 67) **Siseringaha na=ni laqa huri na no-da doridori.**  
 now 1SGS=IRR speak about ACC CL-1NSG.INP behaviour  
*Now I am going to talk about our behaviour.*

(FRT001)

- 68) **Na=ni tomu huri Tagaro.**  
 1SGS=IRR tell.story about Tagaro  
*I will tell a story about Tagaro.*

(VLL005)

- 69) **Tangaloi ra=mo veve huri=go tamwere.**  
 people 3NSGS=REAL tell about=2SGO always  
*People talk about you all the time.*

#### 6.5.5 DATIVE 'TO', BENEFACTIVE 'FOR': *Lawe*

The object of the preposition *lawe* has either a dative or a benefactive role. That is, it is someone who is a recipient, or who in some other way benefits from the action of the verb. Those verbs which commonly take an object introduced by the preposition *lawe* when it marks the dative are extended transitive verbs (§4.4.4), which can take three arguments with the semantic roles of agent, patient, and recipient. The extended transitive verbs are: *veve* 'to say, tell' (70), *bete* 'to give' (71), and *haharagi* 'to show' (72). Verbs of locution often take a dative object, where the participants being spoken to can be thought of as being recipients through their role as addressees (73). The dative object is not obligatory for any verb.

- 70) **Go=ni veve=a lawe=a hine?**  
 2SGS=IRR tell=3SGO DAT=3SGO who  
*Who are you going to tell it to?*



- 71) **Mo bete lawe na tangaloi haro.**  
 REAL give DAT ACC people random  
*S/he gives to just anybody.*
- 72) **Na=ni haharagi na gineu dolegi lawe=go.**  
 1SGS=IRR show ACC thing all DAT=2SGO  
*I'll show everything to you.*
- 73) **Ale ga=mo laqa lawe na no-mai sinobu.**  
 so 1NSG.EXS=REAL speak DAT ACC CL.GEN-1NSG.EXP many.people  
*So we speak to our people.*

(AD020)

Where the preposition *lawe* marks a benefactive role rather than a dative role, the types of verbs which may take a benefactive object are not as limited. In effect, for any verb where the subject has an agentive role, the action can be carried out by the agent on behalf of someone else, and can thus take a benefactive object.

- 74) **Na=ni solo na gavu-mu lawe=go.**  
 1SGS=IRR wash ACC clothes-2SGP BEN=2SGO  
*I'll wash your clothes for you.*
- 75) **Ra=u vei na gineu ngaha lawe i gamai.**  
 3NSGS=TEL do ACC thing this BEN PERS 1NSG.EX  
*They did this thing for us.*
- 76) **Nu wehe samwegi-ni=e, siu mo wehe=a lawe=eu.**  
 1SGS:TEL kill be.unable-TR=3SGO then REAL kill=3SGO BEN=1SGO  
*I couldn't kill it, so he killed it for me.*

(SN1.090)

It is possible to demonstrate the difference between the dative and benefactive functions of the preposition *lawe* with the verb, *uli*, which can mean either 'to write' or 'to draw'. A sentence such as (77) where the verb means 'to draw' is unambiguous; the oblique object is a benefactive. In (78), however, the meaning of the sentence could be either, 'You must write a letter to me', or 'You must write a letter for me'. In the case of the former, an appropriate response may be (79), 'OK, but Robert will write it for me.' Likewise, the verb *hora* 'to send' can take either a dative or benefactive object, resulting in possible ambiguity as in (80).

- 77) **Ale, mo uli=e lawe i Tavolo Manaro vano vano mo**  
 so REAL draw=3SGO BEN PERS Tavolo Manaro go go REAL  
**rovo.**  
 finish

*So he drew it all for Tavolo Manaro.*

(LT2.010)

- 78) **Go=ni mas uli na leta lawe=eu.**  
 2SGS=IRR must write ACC letter DAT/BEN=1SGO  
*You must write a letter to/for me.*

- 79) **Garea, ngie Robert vi=ni uli=e lawe=eu.**  
 good but Robert 3SG.IRRS=IRR write=3SGO BEN=1SGO  
*OK, but Robert will write it for me.*

- 80) **Ngie mo hora na geis lawe=eu.**  
 3SG REAL send ACC box DAT/BEN=1SGO  
*He sent a parcel to/for me.*

The dative/benefactive object is always animate, either a proper noun, or an animate common noun. While generally only transitive verbs take a dative/benefactive object, if *lawe* marks a benefactive rather than a dative role, it is possible for the verb to be intransitive (81 and 82).

- 81) **Vale-i tataro mo eno lawe i gide.**  
 house-CONST pray REAL lie BEN PERS 1NSG.IN  
*The church exists/is there for us.*

(FRT)

- 82) **Mo eno lawe i gimiu, vo ne=mo tarani vo ne=ni**  
 REAL lie BEN PERS 2NSG if 2NSGS=REAL want say 2NSGS=IRR  
**kalo=e, ne=kalo=e.**  
 climb=3SGO 2NSGS=climb=3SGO  
*It (a fruit or nut tree) is there for you, if you want to climb it (and get the fruit), then climb it.*

#### 6.5.6 COMITATIVE, CONFECTIVE 'WITH': *ME*

The preposition *me* has both a comitative and a confective function. That is, it is used both to refer to an action which is carried out by the subject jointly '(together) with' other

participants (83-84), and to refer to a situation where the subject carries out an action 'with' (i.e. while carrying) an object (85-86). Confective objects occur only with motion verbs. Comitative objects occur with both motion verbs and other kinds of active intransitive verbs (84). As the comitative object always denotes an equal participant in the action of the verb with the subject, this role always refers to an animate being, expressed by either a common or proper noun. Confective objects on the other hand are generally inanimate, and can only be expressed by common nouns.

- 83) **Ra=mo dadari lo vale me-na vavine gai-rue.**  
 3NSGS=REAL reach LOC house COM-ACC woman NUM-two

*They reached the house with the two girls.*

(DM060)

- 84) **Mo ga-gani me i tubui lo vale-na gatigale hogosie.**  
 REAL REDUP-eat COM PERS woman LOC house-3SGP NUM:one only

*He just ate with one of his wives.*

(EK014)

- 85) **Tahi vi=ni weli=go, vi=ni hivo me=go vagahao.**  
 sea 3SG.IRRS=IRR take=2SGO 3SG.IRRS=IRR go.down COM=2SGO far

*The sea will carry you out a long way. (lit. the sea will go out with you a long way.)*

(96.24)

- 86) **Ra=ru mo vano ra=ru mo lai na robo-gi, ra=ru**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL go 3NSGS=DL REAL take ACC leaf-ASS 3NSGS=DL  
**mo vanai me=a.**  
 REAL go:to.sp COM=3SGO

*The two of them went and got the pudding leaves and came back with them.*

(LT1)

Often the types of verbs which take an oblique object with a comitative role are inherently reciprocal (Givón 1984), for which at least two participants are required, and where the semantics of the verb requires that the participants are involved in the action as both (semantic) agents and patients, for example *qalo* 'to fight', *lagi* 'to marry', *bulu* 'to join' and *gato* 'to talk (converse)'. As these verbs are intransitive, the participants are either given equal status as the subject (87), or one participant is given greater focus and has core argument status as subject, while the other is outside the core as an oblique argument, as the object of the comitative preposition.

- 87) **Ra=ri legi tagaha?**  
 3NSGS=DL:IRR marry when

*When will the two of them get married?*

- 88) **Hi bulu tea me-na sinobu, vunu hi bulu tea me-na**  
 NEG join NEG COM-ACC many.people then NEG join NEG COM-ACC  
**bubugi-ana mwere sinobu ra=mo bulu huri(=e).**  
 together-NR like many.people 3NSGS=REAL join PURP=3SGO  
*S/he doesn't join with all the people, and s/he doesn't join with the togetherness*  
*(cooperation) that the people join together for.*  
 (FRT018)

- 89) **Go=mese qalo me-na tangaloi ngire!**  
 2SGS=DEHOR fight COM-ACC people 3NSG  
*Don't fight with those people!*

- 90) **Hala-na mo balu lo vale-na me i hage-na**  
 WiBr-3SGP REAL steal LOC house-3SGP COM PERS op.sex.sib-3SGP  
**sibo-na.**  
 self-3SGP  
*His (Tagaro's) brother in law was adulterous with his own sister in his*  
*(Tagaro's) house.*  
 (EK018)

The language seems to be currently undergoing a change in the use of the comitative and instrumental prepositions, whereby *gene* is falling out of use, and *me* is taking its place, thus covering both the comitative and the instrumental functions. It is not just children who are tending towards the use of *me* with an instrumental function; adults up to the age of about 30 can be heard on occasion substituting *me* for *gene* as well. This situation can be illustrated by a statement from an older (aged approximately 85) speaker, who criticises children today for not using 'real' language, because they regularly and erroneously use *me* in place of *gene*.

- 91) **Ra=vo, "Na=ni tai na tovu me-na bue. Ngie hate**  
 3NSGS=say 1SGS=IRR cut ACC sugarcane COM-ACC knife 3SG NEG  
**leo ngihie, ngie na=ni tai=e gene bue. Go=lai na**  
 language that but 1SGS=IRR cut=3SGO INST knife 2SGS=take ACC  
**bue na=ni tai na tovu gene na bue."**  
 knife 1SGS=IRR cut ACC sugarcane INST ACC knife  
*They say, "I will cut the sugarcane with (comitative) a knife. That's not*  
*language, but I will cut it with (instrumental) a knife. Get a knife and I will*  
*cut the sugarcane with (instrumental) the knife."*

(BT.2A.346)

*Me* is also a conjunction used to coordinate clauses. This function of *me* is discussed in §15.2.4.

6.5.7 MANNER 'LIKE': *MWERE*

As a preposition *mwere* marks an object which has a manner or similitive role. It is used to state that something is 'like' the object of the preposition. What is being compared is usually the action or state/process (92) of the verb, but it could be the object of a transitive verb (96) which is being compared. The prepositional object can be expressed in pronominal form (92), or by a common noun (93), a proper noun (94) or a demonstrative (95).

- 92) **Mwere, ra=ru mo sesea mwere=eu vage.**  
 like 3NSGS=DL REAL old like=1SGO too  
*Like, the two of them are getting old like me too.*

(AD001)

- 93) **Wodowodo ra=mo sain mwere na visiu.**  
 glowing.mushroom 3NSGS=REAL shine like ACC star  
*Wodowodo (a type of mushroom which glows in the dark) shine like stars.*

- 94) **Mo wetu mwere i Lidy.**  
 REAL dance like PERS Lidy  
*She dances like Lidy.*

- 95) **Da=mo gato mwere ngihie.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL speak like that  
*We speak like that.*

- 96) **Mo loli=e mwere na bebe.**  
 REAL make=3SGO like ACC butterfly  
*S/he made it like a butterfly.*

## 6.6 LOCATIONAL ADJUNCTS

The constituents of a clause which can function as a locational adjunct are:

- a locative NP which consists of an absolute location noun;
- a locative NP which consists of a directional functioning as an absolute location noun;
- a locative NP which has a common noun as its head, marked for locative case;
- a locative NP which has a relational location noun as its head, marked for locative case;  
or
- a prepositional phrase with one of the locative prepositions as its head, either a true preposition: *tau*, 'denizen of, from', *tau/si* 'to, at', or *sara* 'to, at' (plural form of *tau/si*), or a noun-like preposition: *lobe* 'near, next to', *lolo* 'in(side), into' or *lu* 'on', as its head.

In Table 6.1 the various locational adjuncts are summarised in terms of which preposition, if any, can be used to express different locative meanings, depending on the word class of the head of the object NP. Where X is indicated this means that the particular locative meaning cannot be expressed with that type of locative NP. A Ø means that no preposition is used to express that locative meaning for that type of locative NP. This information is presented in Table 6.2 in terms of which prepositions can function as the head of a PP with which classes of words as the head of the object NP.

Locative Object	LOCATIVE MEANING						
	'at'	'to'	'on'	'in'	'from'	'into'	'onto'
<i>i</i> + proper noun	<i>lobe</i>	<i>lobe</i>	<i>lu</i>	X	X	X	<i>tau</i> / <i>si</i> <i>lu</i>
possessive suffix	<i>lobe-</i>	<i>lobe-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>lolo-</i>	X	<i>tau</i> / <i>si</i> <i>lolo-</i>	<i>tau</i> / <i>si</i> <i>lu-</i>
( <i>na</i> ) + common noun	<i>lobe</i>	<i>lobe</i>	X	<i>lolo</i>	X	<i>tau</i> / <i>si</i> <i>lolo</i>	X
<i>lo</i> + common noun	Ø	Ø	Ø	X	<i>tau</i> <sub>1</sub>	X	<i>tau</i> / <i>si</i>
<i>lo</i> + relational location noun	Ø	Ø	Ø	X	<i>tau</i> <sub>1</sub>	X	X
absolute location noun	Ø	Ø	X	X	<i>tau</i> <sub>1</sub>	X	X
directional noun	Ø, <i>tau</i> / <i>si</i>	Ø, <i>tau</i> / <i>si</i>	X	X	<i>tau</i> <sub>1</sub>	X	X

Table 6.1 The prepositions which are used to express different locative meanings, dependent on the word class of the head of the object NP

OBJECT OF LOCATIVE PREPOSITION							
PREP	<i>i</i> + proper noun	poss. suffix	( <i>na</i> ) + common noun	<i>lo</i> + common noun	<i>lo</i> + rel. loc. noun	abs. loc. noun	directional noun
<i>tau</i> <sub>1</sub> 'from'	X	X	X	√	√	√	√
<i>tau</i> / <i>si</i> 'to, at'	X	X	X	X	X	X	√
<i>lobe</i> 'to, at'	√	√	√	X	X	X	X
<i>lolo</i> 'in'	X	√	√	X	X	X	X
<i>lu</i> 'on'	√	√	X	X	X	X	X
Ø 'to, at, on'	X	X	X	√	√	√	√

Table 6.2 Combinatorial possibilities of locative prepositions with word class of the head of the object NP

## 6.6.1 ABSOLUTE LOCATION NOUNS AND DIRECTIONALS

The semantics of absolute location nouns and directionals are described in detail in §8. Here I give examples to demonstrate how members of these classes can function as a clausal adjunct (97), a phrasal adjunct modifying the head of an NP (98), or a predicate in a nonverbal clause (99).

- 97) **Australia/ hage-lehe ra=mo gani sipsip tamwere.**  
 Australia up-DIST 3NSGS=REAL eat sheep always  
*In Australia/Up there they eat lamb all the time.*

- 98) **Gide Vanuatu/ talingaha da=mo gani boe.**  
 1NSG.IN Vanuatu here 1NSG.INS=REAL eat pig  
*Us in Vanuatu/Here, we eat pork.*

- 99) **Ngie tau Australia/ aute.**  
 3SG DEN Australia up.in.bush  
*S/he is from Australia/up in the bush.*

Less commonly, absolute location nouns can function as the subject argument in a nonverbal (100) or stative (101) clause, and more rarely as a direct object (102 and 103).

- 100) **Vanuatu garea-gi, a?**  
 Vanuatu good-NR eh  
*Vanuatu is nice, eh?*

- 101) **Talingaha u garea.**  
 here TEL good  
*Here is nice.*

- 102) **Ga=u siregi tahu lo hav pas foa.**  
 1NSG.EXS=TEL let.go:APPL there LOC half past four  
*We left there at half past four.*

- 103) **Da=ni siregi Maewo, da=ni hivo Santo.**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR let.go:APPL Maewo 1NSG.INS=IRR go.down Santo  
*We'll leave Maewo and go to Santo.*

6.6.2 LOCATIVE CASE ARTICLE *LO*

*Lo* marks locative case, and determines the head noun in a locative NP if it is a common or relational location noun. It can be used to specify either a position 'on' (104) or 'at' (105) a place, or movement 'to' (106) or 'from' (107) a place.

- 104) **Go=mese toga lo tano.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR sit LOC ground  
*Don't sit on the ground.*
- 105) **I Suqe mo hue mwakaru lo vanue Maewo lo duvi-gi.**  
 PERS Suqe REAL paddle flying.fish LOC island Maewo LOC end-AL  
*Suqe was paddling for flying fish at Maewo on the other side/end.* (EK060)
- 106) **Re maresu ra=u vano lo wai.**  
 PL child 3NSGS=TEL go LOC water  
*The children have gone to the creek.*
- 107) **Ga=mo hamai lo mageti.**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL go.up:to.sp LOC market  
*We've come up from the market.*

The locative article can have as its object either a common noun (as in all the above examples) or a possessive construction which has a relational location noun as its head. Relational nouns are used to denote more specific locations, such as 'behind' (108) or 'under' (109) something.

- 108) **Gamai ga=u vano tomue, vununu ngie mo huri lo tagu-mai.**  
 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=TEL go first then 3SG REAL follow LOC  
 behind-1NSG.EXP  
*We went first, and s/he followed behind us.* (96.48)
- 109) **I Jenita mo labe lo vava-i tavaa.**  
 PERS Jenita REAL stand LOC under-CONST indian.almond  
*Jenita is standing underneath the Indian almond tree.* (MB002)

Proper nouns, absolute location nouns and independent pronouns cannot be determined by the locative article. Absolute location nouns stand on their own in a locative NP, but if the referent of a proper noun or a pronoun has a locative function, then it must function as the object of one of the locative prepositions.

A locative NP which consists of a common noun determined by *lo* can also express temporal concepts, defining location in time (110). The locative article is used with borrowed temporal nouns to refer to introduced western concepts of time (111).



- 110) **Da=ni rivu na damu lo vule taligu.**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR plant ACC yam LOC month again  
*We will plant the yams next month.*

- 111) **lo Sarere/ Septeba/ wigen**  
 LOC Saturday September weekend  
*on Saturday/in September/on the weekend*

Various relational location nouns have both spatial and temporal senses. However, while the locational noun, *tagu-* 'behind' can be used in a locative PP to express time 'after' (112), it is not possible to use *mue* or *nago-* 'front' to denote time 'before' an event (113).

- 112) **Na=ni meturu lo tagu-i hinaga.**  
 1SGS=IRR sleep LOC behind-CONST food  
*I will go to sleep after dinner.*

- 113) **\*Nu meturu lo mue-i hinaga.**  
 1SGS:TEL sleep LOC before-CONST food  
*I went to sleep before dinner.*

- 114) **No=mo maturu tomue, vunu mo bei taro-i hinaga.**  
 1SGS=REAL sleep first then REAL just time-CONST food  
*I went to sleep before dinner. (Lit. I went to sleep first, and then it was just dinner time.)*

One might be tempted to postulate an alternative analysis of *lo*, that it is a preposition rather than an article. However, it shares more properties with articles than it does with other prepositions. All objects, either direct objects or prepositional objects, can be marked for case with the accusative article *na*. If *lo* were to be considered a preposition, it would be an exception to this generalisation. Also, in most cases the object of a preposition can be marked in pronominal form on the preposition, by a possessive suffix or object enclitic, but *lo* can never be marked by a pronominal, nor even determine an independent pronoun, which is characteristic of articles rather than prepositions.

### 6.6.3 TRUE PREPOSITIONS

#### 6.6.3.1 'DENIZEN OF, FROM': *TAU*<sub>1</sub>

There are two distinct functions of the preposition, *tau*. It is used either to indicate the place of origin of an object, that something is a denizen of a place (*tau*<sub>1</sub>), or it can be a general locative when used with absolute location nouns (*tau*<sub>2</sub>).

*Tau*<sub>1</sub> is most commonly used to state where a person is from (115), but it can also be used to specify the place of origin or abode of animal or plant species (116). With this function, the preposition *tau*<sub>1</sub> can have as its object one of the various types of absolute location nouns, whether it be a place name (115 and 116), a member of the closed subclass of absolute location nouns (117), or a directional (118).

- 115) **Ngie tau logo? tau Australia sege tau America?**  
 3SG DEN where DEN Australia or DEN America  
*Where is she from? From Australia or from America?*

- 116) **qeta tuturani tau Fiji**  
 taro whiteman DEN Fiji  
*Fijian taro.*

- 117) **tangaloi tau alau**  
 people DEN down.by.sea  
*People from near the sea.*

- 118) **gimiu tau hage-lehe**  
 2NSG DEN up-DIST  
*You lot (are) from up there (e.g. Australia, or another country, or up in the bush).*

A relational location noun cannot occur as the object of *tau*<sub>1</sub>, but a free common noun can, where the head noun is determined by the locative article *lo* (119, 120 and 121). *Tau*<sub>1</sub> can also occur in combination with the noun-like preposition *lolo* 'inside' to refer to something which is from somewhere 'inside' a place (122).

- 119) **Ngie tau lo vanue dolue.**  
 3SG LOC LOC country different  
*S/he is from a different place/village/country.*

- 120) **Ngie tau lo wai ute.**  
 3SG LOC LOC different place  
*S/he is from a different place.*

- 121) **Da=mo lehe=a ngaha tau lo vanue lague.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL see=3SGO this DEN LOC country big  
*We see this from the big country (Australia).*

(LPD002)

- 122) **burie tau lolo tahi**  
 slug DEN in sea  
*sea slug (bêche de mer)*

*Tau<sub>1</sub>* can also be used to specify origin in time, rather than space, with a word from the class of temporals as its object.

- 123) **Da=ni            geni na hinaga tau nainoa.**  
 INSG.INS=IRR eat ACC food DEN yesterday  
*We will eat the food from yesterday.*

#### 6.6.3.2 LOCATIVE 'TO, AT': *TAU<sub>2</sub>/SI*

It was noted in §6.6.2 that the article *lo* cannot determine an absolute locational noun. The function of *tau<sub>2</sub>* is basically as a general locative preposition which can have an absolute locational noun as its object. That is, *tau<sub>2</sub>* is in complementary distribution with *lo*, and occurs with locational nouns to indicate a location 'at' a place (124-125), or motion 'to' a place (126).<sup>1</sup>

- 124) **Ra=mo            bato tau hage.**  
 3NSGS=REAL shout LOC up  
*They are shouting up there.*
- 125) **Qaru-ne        gatigale mo eno tau hage tahu.**  
 grave-3SGP NUM:one REAL lie LOC up there  
*One grave of his is up there.*

(LTD002)

- 126) **Da=mo            wali na loko-gi tau varea.**  
 INSG.INS=REAL take ACC laplap-ASS LOC outside  
*We take the laplap out (of the oven).*

(ML061)

*Tau<sub>2</sub>* can also function as the head of a PP which has a common noun marked for locative case as its object, to refer to motion 'onto' something.

- 127) **Go=teve na loko lo robo.**  
 2SGS=cut ACC pudding LOC leaf  
*Cut the pudding on the pudding leaf.*
- 128) **Da=visa=e            mo guwerigi tau lo robo.**  
 INSG.INS=split=3SGO REAL small LOC LOC leaf  
*We cut it into small pieces onto the pudding leaf.*

(ML014)

<sup>1</sup> The noun-like preposition *lobe* has this locative function with proper nouns and pronouns (§6.6.4.1).

The function of the noun-like preposition *lolo* 'in(side)' has not been discussed yet (§6.6.4.2), but it is appropriate to note here that *tau*<sub>2</sub> can combine with *lolo* to specify motion 'into' a place. In the following sentences, compare those situations where *lolo* is used on its own and the movement specified takes place in the sea (129 and 131), with examples where *tau*<sub>2</sub> and *lolo* combine to express the meaning 'into', specifying that the movement is directed 'into' the sea (130 and 132).

- 129) **Re maresu ra=mo qangi-qangi lolo tahi.**  
 PL child 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-jump in sea

*The children jumped (up and down) in the sea.*

- 130) **Mo qangi tau lolo tahi.**  
 REAL jump LOC in sea

*He jumped into the sea.*

- 131) **Da=mo tuli moli lolo tahi.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL throw ball in sea

*We played ball in the sea.*

- 132) **Da=mo tuli na moli tau lolo tahi.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL throw ACC ball LOC in sea

*We threw the ball into the sea.*

*Tau*<sub>2</sub> can also occur together with the preposition *lu* 'on' (§6.6.4.3), as it can with *lolo* 'in(side)', to express motion which is directed 'onto' something. The motion component of direction, 'to', is supplied by the preposition *tau*<sub>2</sub>, and the meaning 'in' or 'on' is supplied by the prepositions *lolo* and *lu* to form a double preposition with the meaning 'into' or 'onto'. When *tau*<sub>2</sub> occurs as the head of a PP to specify the meaning 'onto', it could have a locative NP as its object, in which the head noun is a common noun, determined by *lo*. Contrastively, the object of the combined preposition form *tau lu* can be either a pronominal form (133-134) or a proper noun (135).

- 133) **Brown mo tuli na vatu tau lu-ku.**  
 Brown REAL throw ACC stone LOC on-1SGP

*Brown threw a stone at me.*

- 134) **Maresu biti mo lodo-gi na ga-na hinaga tau lu-ku.**  
 child small REAL spit-APPL ACC CL.FOOD-3SGP food LOC on-1SGP

*He spat his food onto me.*

- 135) **Go=tuli=e tau lu-i Kenneth.**  
 2SGS=throw=3SGO LOC on-CONST Kenneth

*Throw it at/onto Kenneth.*

*Si* has exactly the same function as *tau*<sub>2</sub> and could occur in place of *tau*<sub>2</sub> in any of the above examples. *Tau*<sub>2</sub> is the form most commonly heard in Lolovoli, *si* occurring only rarely. The difference may be dialectal, but this is not clear from my data.

- 136) **Da=mo tu varea, da=mo tuli=e si hivo**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL stay outside 1NSG.INS=REAL throw=3SGO LOC down  
**lolo tahi.**  
 in sea  
*We stayed on the shore and threw it into the sea.*

#### 6.6.3.3 LOCATIVE 'TO, AT': SARA

*Sara* is the plural equivalent of *tau*<sub>2</sub> or *si*. It specifies not that the object of the preposition is plural, but rather that the referent which is moving to or being located in a place is plural. The plural referent can be the subject (138) or object (139) of the verb. Compare (137) with the elicited example (138) where the plural entity is the subject of the existential verb *eno* 'lie', which is specified as being in a place, and in (137) it is a singular item, whereas in (138) it is plural. In some instances the preposition is the only indication of whether the referent is singular or plural, as in (140).

- 137) **Qaru-ne gatigale mo eno tau hage tahu.**  
 grave-3SGP NUM:one REAL lie LOC up there  
*A grave of his is up there.*

(LTD002)

- 138) **Qaru-re ra=mo eno sara hage tahu.**  
 grave-3NSGP 3NSGS=REAL lie LOC.PL up there  
*Their graves are up there.*

- 139) **...ga=mo wali na ma-utu-utu-i kava**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL take ACC ANTI-REDUP-break-CONST corrugated.iron  
**guwerigi, ga=mo halegi-ni=re sara hage aulu.**  
 small 1NSG.EXS=REAL put.up-TR=3NSGO LOC.PL up.there up.high  
*...we took small pieces of corrugated iron and we put them up high.*

(AH028)

- 140) **Go=wali na vuhe tau/ sara vanai.**  
 2SGS=carry ACC green.coco LOC LOC.PL go:to.sp  
*Bring the coconut/s here.*

## 6.6.4 NOUN-LIKE PREPOSITIONS

The three noun-like prepositions which express a locative meaning, *lobe* ‘near, next to’, *lolo* ‘in(side)’ and *lu* ‘on’, are for the most part in complementary distribution with nouns which are marked for locative case with the article *lo*. *Lo* cannot determine either a proper noun or an independent pronoun, and these three prepositions function to specify different locative meanings where the prepositional object is either a proper noun or a pronominal. The exception is that *lobe* can occur with both common nouns and proper nouns, although there is a slight difference in meaning depending on the class of noun which is the head of the object NP.

NP	PREPOSITION		
	‘to, at’	‘in’	‘on’
<i>lo</i> + common or relational location noun	Ø <i>lobe</i>	Ø	Ø
proper noun	<i>lobe</i>	X	<i>lu</i>
possessive suffix (pronominal referent)	<i>lobe-</i>	<i>lolo-</i>	<i>lu-</i>

Table 6.3 The distribution of locative NPs marked by *lo* and prepositional phrases introduced by noun-like prepositions

6.6.4.1 ‘NEAR, NEXT TO’: *LOBE*

*Lobe* is a locative preposition which can specify either motion ‘to’ or position ‘at’ a place, or ‘near’ or ‘next to’ its object.

- 141) **Mo hage lobe i Tagaro.**

REAL go.up near PERS Tagaro

*She went up to Tagaro.*

(JTT011)

- 142) **...mo hale-hale mo vanatu lobe-mu.**

REAL REDUP-flow REAL go:DIR near-2SGP

*...they floated towards you.*

(EK036)

- 143) **Tuturani vi=ni meturu lobe i Magareti.**

white.person 3SG.IRRS=IRR sleep near PERS Margaret

*The white woman will sleep at Margaret’s place.*

- 144) ...mo vano lo gamali lobe na mwalakelo no-i Tagaro...  
 REAL go LOC nakamal near ACC youth CL.GEN-CONST Tagaro  
*...he went to the nakamal to Tagaro's young men.*

(EK055)

While to some extent the meaning of *lobe* is equivalent to the locative article *lo*, when it takes a proper noun or pronominal as its object there is in fact a slight difference in meaning, indicated by the gloss, 'near, next to'. When the object is a proper noun or pronoun, it is difficult to distinguish between the simple locative meaning and the more specific meaning, but the difference is more obvious when the prepositional object is a common noun. Note from the following examples that whereas *lo* indicates a more general location, *lobe* specifies that the location is closer to the prepositional object.

- 145) Mo toga lo tahi.  
 REAL sit LOC sea  
*It (e.g. a canoe) is sitting on the sea.*  
*She/he/it is sitting/living next to/near the sea.*

- 146) Mo toga lobe na tahi.  
 REAL sit/live near ACC sea  
*She/he/it is sitting/living next to/near the sea.*

- 147) Ra=mo dige ra=mo hivo lo tahi.  
 3NSGS=REAL walk 3NSGS=REAL go.down LOC sea  
*They walked down to the sea.*

- 148) Ra=mo dige lobe na tahi.  
 3NSGS=REAL walk near ACC sea  
*They walked next to /by the sea.*

Also, when *lobe* occurs with a human noun as its object, there tends to be more of a suggestion of closeness, where an appropriate gloss would be 'to be with', or 'to go to be with' someone rather than to just go to them, or be near them. Sentence (149), where the verb *toga* can mean either 'sit' or 'live', demonstrates the difference in meaning of the preposition *lobe*. Where the verb means 'sit', the preposition marks that the referent of the oblique object is physically located next to the referent of the subject. If, however, the meaning of the verb is 'live', there is more of a sense of emotional closeness between the two participants. This sense of the preposition conveying the meaning that the prepositional object is 'with' the subject, is also expressed by the meaning of the preposition in (150).

- 149) **Na=ni toga lobe-mu.**  
 1SGS=IRR sit/live near-2SGP  
*I will sit next to you.*  
*I will live with you.*
- 150) **Veluhuri-gi mo eno lobe i tamaragai Leonard.**  
 story-ASS REAL lie near PERS old.man Leonard  
*The story is with old man Leonard.*

(RT002)

6.6.4.2 'IN(SIDE), INTO': *LOLO*

The preposition *lolo* specifies either a location 'inside' a place (151-154) or motion 'into' a place (155 and 156).

- 151) **Go=mese maturu lolo kisin, go=hage go=maturu lolo vale.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR sleep in kitchen 2SGS=go.up 2SGS=sleep in house  
*Don't sleep in the kitchen, go up and sleep in the house.*
- 152) **Tagaro ngie mo eno lolo gamali.**  
 Tagaro 3SG REAL lie in nakamal  
*Tagaro lay down in the nakamal.*
- 153) **Ga=mo toga lolo-na.**  
 1NSG.EXS-REAL sit in-3SG  
*We sat inside it.*
- 154) **Ra=mo rongo garea ra=mo mwososoko lolo labute.**  
 3NSGS=REAL feel good 3NSGS=REAL hang.around in bush  
*They are enjoying hanging around and playing in the bush.*
- 155) **Da=mo soso na loko lolo bue.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL stuff ACC pudding in bamboo  
*We stuff the pudding into the bamboo<sup>2</sup>.*

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<sup>2</sup> This refers to a traditional way of cooking pudding, where it is first wrapped in island cabbage, stuffed inside bamboo and then cooked over the fire.



- 156) **Go=hogoni na masis lolo no-mu tanga.**  
 2SGS=put.inside ACC matches in CL.GEN-2SGP basket  
*Put the matches into your basket.*

As well as being a preposition *lolo-* is also a relational noun meaning ‘inside’ (157).

- 157) **Da=mo vagaha na lolo-i vale-da vano mo**  
 INSG.INS=REAL clean ACC inside-CONST house-1NSG.INP go finish  
**rovo, da=mo kiri na lolo-i vale.**  
 finish INSG.INS=REAL sweep ACC inside-CONST house  
*We clean all the inside of our house, and then we sweep the inside of the house.*  
 (SBH039)

As mentioned above (§6.6.2) the main argument for analysing the locative *lo* as an article rather than a preposition is the fact that if it were analysed as a preposition, a PP containing *lo* would not adhere to the generalisation that the object of a preposition must be determined by the accusative article *na* if the head of the NP is a common noun. The status of *lolo* is intermediate between an article and a preposition in this regard. An object of the preposition *lolo* is the only prepositional object which cannot be marked by *na*. However, *lolo* is like other noun-like prepositions in that it takes a possessive suffix to indicate a pronominal object (153).<sup>3</sup>

#### 6.6.4.3 ‘ON’: *LU*

The preposition *lu* is used to specify a location ‘on’ an object. Like *lobe*, *lu* is partly in complementary distribution with the locative article *lo*. It can only occur with proper nouns (158) or possessive suffixes as the prepositional object (159), and only means ‘on’, whereas *lo* specifies a general locative.

- 158) **Tavuigi-ni tatai u vanai lu i Tavolo Manaro.**  
 start-CONST tattoo TEL go.to.sp on PERS Tavolo Manaro  
*Tattooes started with Tavolo Manaro.*  
 (LT2.001)
- 159) **Rau-i baego hi soi tea lu-ne.**  
 leaf-CONST breadfruit NEG fall NEG on-3SGP  
*The breadfruit leaves hadn’t fallen on (covering) it.*  
 (DTT007)

<sup>3</sup> The historical evidence provides some explanation for the behaviour of *lolo*. It is a reflex of Proto Oceanic *\*lolo* which has been reconstructed as a noun ‘inside’. So the fact that it has some characteristics of both nouns and prepositions is consistent with the evidence that the preposition is a recent grammaticalisation of an earlier noun.

Unlike the situation with *lolo*, the status of *lu* as a preposition rather than an article is clear, as not only is a pronominal object marked on the preposition by a possessive suffix, but also, if the prepositional object is a proper noun, then this must be determined by the article *i*, and if *lu* were analysed as an article then this would mean that the head of the locative NP was determined by two articles.

A comparison of the complementary distribution of a PP with *lu* as its head as opposed to a locative NP marked with *lo*, is shown by the following examples. As can be seen from sentences (160-163), the preposition *lu-* can occur only with a proper noun or possessive suffix as its object, and not a common noun. The article *lo*, on the other hand, can occur only with common nouns, and not with a proper noun or a possessive suffix.

- 160) **Da=mo**            **hue**        **lategi** **lu-re**        (**\*lu aka**)  
 1NSG.INS=REAL   paddle   about   on-3NSGP   on   canoe  
*We paddle about on them.*
- 161) **Da=mo**            **hue**        **lategi** **lo**        **aka**        (**\*lo-re**).  
 1NSG.INS=REAL   paddle   about   LOC   canoe   LOC-3NSGP  
*We paddle about on canoes.*
- 162) **Go=tau=e**            **lo**    **bata/** **\*lo=mu/**    **\*lo i**        **Jenita.**  
 2SGS=put=3SGO   LOC   bed   LOC=2SGP   LOC   PERS   Jenita  
*Put it on the bed/\*you/\*Jenita.*
- 163) **Go=tau=e**            **lu-i**            **Jenita/** **lu-mu/**    **\*lu bata.**  
 2SGS=put=3SGO   on-CONST   Jenita   on-2SGP   on   bed  
*Put it on Jenita/you/\*the bed.*

# 7

## Possessive and associative constructions

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### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

The two main types of construction which describe possessive relations in Ambae are direct and indirect possessive constructions. Another type of construction, the associative, has the same structure as the direct possessive construction, but marks a more general relationship between nouns than possession. The fact that possessive and associative relations are both expressed by the same construction is not surprising, as they involve similar semantic relationships. Both express a type of possessive relationship, the difference lying in the specificity of the possessor. In a possessive relationship the possessee is identified as having a specific possessor, whereas in an associative relationship the possessor is non-specific.

### 7.2 THE POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

Four different possessive constructions are distinguished in Ambae. The primary distinction is between direct and indirect possession. A direct possessive construction is one in which the possessor is marked directly on the possessed noun (1). In an indirect construction, the possessor is marked, not on the possessee, but on a relational classifier (2) which specifies the nature of the semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessee.

- 1)     **vulu-ku**  
       **hair-1SGP**  
       *my hair*
  
- 2)     **no-ku**         **bue**  
       **CL.GEN-1SGP knife**  
       *my knife*

A further distinction can be made between simplex and complex possessive constructions. In a simplex construction, where the possessor is a pronominal, a possessive suffix, indicating person and number of the possessor (see Table 7.1 for forms), occurs on the possessee or on the relevant classifier. Alternatively, if the possessor is represented by a

nominal, then in this complex construction, the construct suffix *-(n)i*, must be attached to the head noun or the classifier, and the possessor noun follows. The four distinct possessive constructions are thus as represented in Table 7.2. Note that, in terms of word order, the possessor always follows the possessed, except in the indirect simplex construction, where the order is reversed.

	SG	DL	NSG
1INCL		<i>-daru</i>	<i>-da, -de<sup>1</sup></i>
1EXCL	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-maru</i>	<i>-mai</i>
2	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-miru</i>	<i>-miu</i>
3	<i>-na, -ne</i>	<i>-ra, -re</i>	<i>-ra, -re</i>

Table 7.1 Possessive suffixes

	DIRECT	INDIRECT
SIMPLEX	<p><u>possessee-poss.suffix</u></p> <p><b>netu-ku</b> child-1SGP <i>my child</i></p>	<p><u>classifier-poss.suffix possessee</u></p> <p><b>me-mu                      malogu</b> CL:DRINK-2SGP kava <i>your kava</i></p>
COMPLEX	<p><u>possessee-i possessor</u></p> <p><b>netu-i                      Margaret</b> child-CONST Margaret <i>Margaret's child</i></p>	<p><u>possessee classifier-i possessor</u></p> <p><b>malogu me-i                      retahigi</b> kava CL:DRINK-CONST chief <i>the chiefs' kava</i></p>

Table 7.2 Possessive construction types<sup>2</sup>

The structure of an NP which contains a possessive construction differs considerably from a simple NP. Both the possessee, as the head of a possessive NP, and the possessor, as the dependent, can be realised by an NP. Considering the different types of possessive constructions, the possible structures of a possessive NP can be represented by the following formula:

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<sup>1</sup> Distribution of the allomorphs of the possessive suffixes is conditioned by the regular vowel height assimilation rule, whereby an /a/ is raised to an [e] after a high vowel in the preceding syllable (§2.6.5).

<sup>2</sup> The distinction between four types of possessive constructions: direct simplex, indirect simplex, direct complex, and indirect complex, has been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic by Lichtenberk (1985). However, while the construction types found in Ambae reflect these types, the actual form of the constructions differs.

PossNP → (ART)	NP { -possessive suffix -CONST NP CL - CONST NP CL - possessive suffix NP
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Note that the form of the construct suffix *-(n)i* is phonologically conditioned. *-ni* is the form which occurs after a final *-i* (3) or *-eo* (4) on the suffixed noun, and *-i* occurs elsewhere (5). Usually in Ambae the rule is that  $V_1 \rightarrow \emptyset / V_1 \_$  (§2.6.3), but this different rule applies with the construct suffix. However, in a few cases the form of the suffix is reduced to zero after a final *-i*, rather than the expected form *-ni* occurring (6).

- 3)      **gamali-ni**              **Robert**  
club.house-CONST Robert  
*Robert's clubhouse*
  
- 4)      **leo-ni**                  **tama-ku**  
language-CONST father-1SGP  
*my father's language*
  
- 5)      **vale-i**                  **Bubu**              **Tom**  
house-CONST grandparent Tom  
*Grandad Tom's house*
  
- 6)      **retahi-i**                **Lulu**  
mother-CONST Lulu  
*Lulu's mother*

### 7.3 DIRECT POSSESSION

While the difference between direct and indirect possessive constructions is a morphosyntactic one, the distinction is semantically motivated. Nouns which function as the possessee in a direct possessive construction are those which can be said to be 'inalienably' possessed. The boundaries of this category vary considerably across the languages which demonstrate the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, but the basic distinction is that

[w]hereas inalienability denotes an indissoluble connection between two entities - a permanent and inherent association between the possessor and the possessed - the complementary notion of alienability refers to a variety of rather freely made associations between two referents, that is relationships of a less permanent and inherent type..., including transient possession and right to use or control an object. (Chappell and McGregor 1996:4)

Therefore, the nouns which are most commonly inalienably possessed cross-linguistically are those which refer to body parts and kin relations, and part-whole relationships (Chappell and McGregor 1996). This is the case in Ambae, and has long been observed as a common feature of Oceanic languages (e.g. Codrington 1885). In many languages the relationship is far broader, however, and certainly in Ambae, the inalienable relationship is extended to include a range of possessive relationships where the possessee can in some way be thought of as being intimately related to the possessor.

Nominals which can take part in an inalienable possessive construction in Ambae can be thought of as belonging to one of two distinct categories; those which reflect an intimate relationship to the possessor, relating to a concept of 'self', and expressions of part-whole or positional relation.

While the specification of which nouns can function as the possessee in a direct possessive construction is semantically determined, there is also a correlation between noun subclasses and possessive constructions. Generally, bound nouns, in each of the subclasses of personal, locational and common nouns (§4.2), occur as the possessee in a direct possessive construction, and when they occur outside a direct possessive construction, it is a requirement that they be suffixed with the alienable suffix *-gi* (7-9) (§7.6.6). Free nouns, on the other hand, most commonly occur as the possessee in indirect possessive constructions.

- 7)     **Ngie tehi-ku.**  
        3SG   y.same.sex.sib-1SGP  
        *S/he is my younger sibling (of the same sex as me).*
  
- 8)     **Ngie tehi-gi.**  
        3SG   y.same.sex.sib-AL  
        *S/he is the youngest.*
  
- 9)     **\*Ngie tehi.**  
        3SG   y.same.sex.sib  
        *S/he is the youngest.*

It is not the case, however, that a division can be made such that the possessee in a direct possessive construction is always a bound noun, and the possessee in an indirect possessive construction is always a free noun. While generally nouns which function as the possessee in indirect constructions are free common nouns (free personal and locational nouns do not function as the possessee in possessive constructions), a bound noun can, in rare cases, function as the possessee if it is suffixed with *-gi*. Also, there are some free common nouns which can function as the possessee in a direct possessive construction (§7.5). It is clear that these nouns are free nouns, as not only can they occur in both direct (10) and indirect (11) constructions, but also, they are not required to be suffixed with the alienable suffix *-gi* when occurring outside a direct possessive construction (12). If these nouns do occur

marked by the suffix *-gi*, then this indicates that the noun has an associative function (§7.6), not that it is a bound noun occurring outside a direct possessive construction (13).

- 10) **Ra=mo huri na ahi-ku.**  
 3NSGS=REAL sing ACC song-1SGP  
*They are singing a/the song about me.*
- 11) **Ra=mo huri na no-ku ahi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL sing ACC CL.GEN-1SGP song  
*They are singing my song (either written by me, or my favourite song).*
- 12) **Ra=mo huri na ahi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL sing ACC song  
*They are singing a/the song.*
- 13) **Ra=mo huri na ahi-gi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL sing ACC song-ASS  
*They are singing the song (a song which has a particular purpose).*

### 7.3.1 THE 'SELF'

It is very common in languages which distinguish inalienable possession for this category to be used to express the relationship between kin, and also to talk about parts of a person or animal's body. Other categories can be expressed by this inalienable relationship, and in Ambae we can go as far as to say that anything which relates to a sense of being, which is an intrinsic part of the 'self', is an 'inalienable possession'. This category can be divided into four broad sub-categories as follows:

- Kin relations (e.g. family, mother, sibling, child, wife, brother-in-law)
- Body parts and associated body products (e.g. body, hand, bone, blood, smell)
- Natural behaviour and personal attributes (e.g. voice, age, name, thought, image, spirit, anger)
- Intimate personal property (e.g. house, land, clothes, bed)

#### 7.3.1.1 KIN RELATIONS

All expressions of a relationship between kin are referred to using a direct possessive construction.

- 14) **hava-da dolegi**  
 family-1NSG.INP all  
*all of our family*

- 15)      **tama-i**              **netu-i**              **Roselyn**  
father-CONST child-CONST Roselyn  
*Roselyn's husband*
- 16)      **tue-i**                              **re**      **maresu**  
same.sex.sib-CONST PL child  
*the (female) children's sister(s) or*  
*the (male) children's brother(s) or*  
*the children's brother(s) and sister(s)*
- 17)      **huri-ku**  
FaZHu-1SGP  
*my uncle (father's sister's husband)*

### 7.3.1.2 BODY PARTS AND ASSOCIATED BODY PRODUCTS

The direct possessive construction is used to refer to any part of the body of a person or animal.

- 18)      **mata-ku**  
eye-1SGP  
*my eye*
- 19)      **vinu-mu**  
skin-2SGP  
*your skin*
- 20)      **lima-na**  
hand-3SGP  
*his/her/its arm/hand*
- 21a)      **vulu-ku**                              b) **vulu-i**              **Kenneth**                              c) **vulu-i**                              **toa**  
hair-1SGP                              hair-CONST Kenneth                              feather-CONST chicken  
*my hair*                              *Kenneth's hair*                              *(a/the) chicken's feathers*

Further, any body fluids and secretions, or features which may be considered to be in some way part of, or an extension of, the body, are inalienably possessed (Table 7.3). This includes such things as a person or animal's odour (22), tattoos (23), or even lice (24).



<i>dai-</i>	'blood'	<i>rarato-</i>	'sweat'
<i>mimi-</i>	'urine'	<i>mabu-</i>	'breath'
<i>tai-</i>	'faeces'	<i>bona-</i>	'smell'
<i>toli-</i>	'egg'	<i>vuru-</i>	'cough'
<i>suru-</i>	'mucus'	<i>tatai</i>	'tattoo'
<i>lodo-</i>	'spit'	<i>mada-</i>	'sore'
<i>waini mata-</i>	'tears'	<i>gut-</i>	'lice, tick'
<i>lue-</i>	'vomit'	<i>qie-</i>	'ashes (of dead body)'

Table 7.3 Bodily fluids and other body products

- 22) **Go=ni leo huri na bona-i bigi mate.**  
 2SGS=IRR see PURP ACC smell-CONST meat dead  
*You must look out for the smell of rotting meat.*

- 23) **Tatai-ne ra=u garea.**  
 tattoo-3SGP 3NSGS=TEL good  
*Her tattoos are nice.*

- 24) **Gutu-mu lu-mu?**  
 louse-2SGP on-2SGP  
*Do you have lice?*

### 7.3.1.3 NATURAL BEHAVIOUR AND PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES

Certain personal attributes are seen as an inalienable part of the concept of the self. This is reflected in the possessive system in Ambae, where such things as: natural behaviours like sleep (25) and speech or language (26); physical attributes such as age (27); emotions like shame and anger (28); and mental processes such as knowledge (29) and thought (30), can enter into a direct possessive construction. This inalienable relationship reflects the fact that these attributes are things which cannot exist without the possessor.

- 25) **Maturu-ku mo vanai.**  
 sleep-1 SGP REAL come  
*I am sleepy. (Lit. My sleep is coming.)*
- 26) **leo-da**  
 language-1NSG.INP  
*our language/speech*

- 27) **Higao-mu gai-vihe?**  
 year-2SGP NUM-how.many  
*How old are you? (Lit. Your years are how many?)*
- 28) **Mero-na u lague.**  
 anger-3SGP TEL big  
*She is very angry. (Lit. Her anger is big.)*
- 29) **Ilo-ilo-ku**  
 REDUP-know-1SGP  
*my knowledge*
- 30) **Domi-mu ra=u hesi**  
 thought-2SGP 3NSGS=TEL bad  
*You have wicked thoughts! (Lit. Your thoughts are bad!)*

There are a number of other concepts which fit into this category and are directly possessed, which relate to a person's sense of being, but are harder to categorise, such as the expression used to refer to how many months pregnant a woman is (31), and that used to refer to the traditional ceremonies which take place to mark a certain number of days since a person's death (32).

- 31) **Vula-na gai-lime beno.**  
 month-3SGP NUM-five already  
*She is already five months pregnant. (Lit. She has five months already.)*
- 32) **...ra=u geni na bongi-ku.**  
 3NSGS=TEL eat ACC death.feast-1SGP  
*...they ate to mark the days since my death.*

#### 7.3.1.4 INTIMATE PERSONAL PROPERTY

There is a class of objects which, unlike items in the previous categories, such as body parts and emotions, are truly objects which can be possessed, or 'owned' in the traditional sense. However, these are things which are so closely associated with a person's existence in the context of Ambae culture, that they are considered to be inalienable objects, and when ownership of such property is referred to, it is the direct possessive construction which is used. Property which is considered to be 'intimate', includes such things as: a person's house (33), land (34), and garden (35), and their bed (36) and pillow (37). One's clothes are thought of as an extension of the body (38), and, considering how much it rains on Ambae, one would be lost without an umbrella, whether it be the 'whiteman's' variety, or a large leaf (39).

- 33) **vale-ku**  
house-1SGP  
*my house*
- 34) **tano-ku**  
land-1SGP  
*my land/place/home*
- 35) **taluk-ku**  
garden-1SGP  
*my garden*
- 36) **bata-ku**  
bed-1SGP  
*my bed*
- 37) **lumwe-ku**  
pillow-1SGP  
*my pillow*
- 38) **Go=ni gevu-gi na bari-mu.**  
2SGS=IRR clothes-APPL ACC skirt-2SGP  
*You will dress in your skirt.*
- 39) **Na=ni tei hune-mu.**  
1SGS=IRR chop umbrella-2SGP  
*I will cut you a (leaf) umbrella.*

Likewise, an animal's cave (40), and a bird's nest (41) are inalienably possessed.

- 40) **malanga-na**  
cave-3SGP  
*its cave*
- 41) **mwagoni-re**  
nest-3NSGP  
*their nest*

'Whiteman's' clothes are either, like traditional clothing, inalienably possessed items, and function as the possessee in a direct possessive construction, or take the general classifier

*no-* (§7.4.4). There is a tendency for children to generalise and treat ‘whiteman’s’ clothes as inalienably possessed objects, whereas adults are more likely to use the general classifier, and in some cases laugh at the children’s attempts to suffix items such as *sikileti* ‘shirt’.

- |     |  |   |                              |
|-----|--|---|------------------------------|
| 42) | <b>tarausisi-ku</b><br>trousers-1SGP<br><i>my trousers</i> | <b>no-ku</b><br>CL.GEN-1SGP<br><i>my trousers</i> | <b>tarausisi</b><br>trousers |
| 43) | <b>deresi-ku</b><br>dress-1SGP<br><i>my dress</i>          | <b>no-ku</b><br>CL.GEN-1SGP<br><i>my dress</i>    | <b>deresi</b><br>dress       |
| 44) | <b>*sikileti-ku</b><br>shirt-1SGP<br><i>my shirt</i>       | <b>no-ku</b><br>CL.GEN-1SGP<br><i>my shirt</i>    | <b>sikileti</b><br>shirt     |

Shoes are never inalienably possessed; they always take the classifier *no-*.

- |     |   |   |  |
|-----|---|---|--|
| 45) | <b>no-ku</b><br>CL.GEN-1SGP<br><i>my shoes</i>  | <b>butu</b><br>shoe<br><i>my shoes</i>      | <b>*butu-ku</b><br>shoe-1SGP<br><i>my shoes</i>      |
| 46) | <b>no-ku</b><br>CL.GEN-1SGP<br><i>my thongs</i> | <b>siliva</b><br>thongs<br><i>my thongs</i> | <b>*siliva-ku</b><br>thongs-1SGP<br><i>my thongs</i> |

### 7.3.2 PART-WHOLE AND POSITIONAL RELATIONS

#### 7.3.2.1 PART-WHOLE RELATIONS

The relationship between an object and its parts is inalienable, as the part is, by its very nature, something which must be considered in relation to its whole. Consequently, the part-whole relationship is expressed in a direct possessive construction, where the part is the ‘possessed’ head noun, and the whole is the ‘possessor’. Akin to body part relations, the possessive construction is used to describe parts of plants (47), and any other object which is divisible into recognised, named parts.

- 47)     **rau-i**             **gai**  
leaf-CONST tree  
*leaf (leaves) of a tree*

- 48) **vinu-i** **ga-na** **mena**  
 skin-CONST CL.FOOD-3SGP ripe  
*the skin of his ripe banana*

- 49) **qetu-qetu-i** **vale-na**  
 wall-REDUP-CONST house-3SGP  
*the walls of his house*

The part-whole relationship can also be used to refer to portions, or pieces of a whole. This is done using the anticausativised form of a verb which describes the way in which the object was divided, such as *vise* 'split' (50), or *kore* 'break' (51), and the form is marked as being a nominal by taking the construct suffix. The verbs which can enter into this construction in this way are all verbs of 'breaking', which are O-type transitive verbs (§4.4.3.1).

- 50) **ma-vise-i** **qeta**  
 ANTI-split-CONST taro  
*a piece of taro*

- 51) **ma-kore-i** **avi**  
 ANTI-break-CONST firewood  
*a piece of firewood*

### 7.3.2.2 POSITIONAL RELATIONS

There is a small subclass of relational location nouns (§4.2.3.1), the members of which are bound nouns, and function as the possessee noun in a direct possessive construction. They are used to define the position of one object in relation to another. Some examples of the nouns which signify a positional relation are; *ulu-* 'above' (52), *vava-* 'under', *nago-* '(in)front' (53), *tagu-* 'behind', *mawiri-* 'left' (54), *matue-* 'right', and *tavalu-* 'side'. More detail on the function of relational location nouns is discussed in chapter 8 on spatial reference.

- 52) **Dodo maeto lo ulu-de.**  
 cloud black LOC above-1NSG.INP  
*There were black clouds above us.*

- 53) **...lo nago-i sinobu.**  
 LOC front-CONST many.people  
*...in front of many people.*

- 54) **Danuta mo toga lo mawiri-ku.**  
 Danuta REAL sit LOC left-1SGP  
*Danuta was sitting on my left.*

Being bound nouns, relational location nouns must occur either in a direct possessive construction, or suffixed with the alienable suffix *-gi* (§7.3).

- 55)   ...**ga=mo**           **gugu na ga-mai**                   **hinaga lo vava-gi.**  
       1NSG.EXS=REAL cook ACC CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP food LOC under-AL  
       *...we cooked our food underneath it.*

(AH030)

This positional relation can also be a temporal one, but only with the nouns *tagu-* 'behind' (56) and *livuge-* 'middle' (57).

- 56)   **Lo tagu-i**           **bongi gai-vesi...**  
       LOC behind-CONST day NUM-four  
       *After four days...*

(RS015)

- 57)   **lo livuge-i**           **reni.**  
       LOC middle-CONST day  
       *in the middle of the day (at midday)*

#### 7.4 INDIRECT POSSESSION

The indirect possessive construction is used to refer to possession of an alienable object. That is, an item which is 'possessed' in the conventional sense, not something which is viewed as an inherent part of its 'possessor'. One of four relational classifiers is used in this construction, and the use is dependent upon the possessive relationship which holds between the possessed object and the possessor, not on any characteristic of the possessee. As Lichtenberk notes:

The crucial property of relational classifiers is that their use is determined not by some properties of the entity to which the noun phrase associated with the classifier refers but by the semantic relation between two linguistic elements, more precisely by the nature of the real-world relation that obtains between the referents of those elements. (Lichtenberk 1983b:148)

Thus in Ambae, through use of the relational classifiers, the speaker indicates not only that a possessive relationship exists between the possessor and the possessee, but further, some indication is given as to the function that the possessed object has for the possessor. The four possessive relationships expressed by the classifiers can be categorised as:

- *ga-* 'food possession'
- *me-* 'drink possession'
- *bula-* 'natural or valued object possession'
- *no-* 'general possession'

7.4.1 RELATIONAL CLASSIFIER *ga-*

The indirect possessive construction containing the classifier *ga-* signals that the referent of the possessee noun is a food item. Thus this classifier can be used with any edible item, whether it be: food which has already been eaten (58); food which has been prepared ready to eat (59); unprepared or uncooked food (60); part of an edible plant which is still growing (61); or even a live animal (62). Use of this classifier signals that the relation which holds between the possessor and the possessee is that the possessee is the possessor's food.

- 58) **Kenneth u geni na ga-na loli beno.**  
 Kenneth TEL eat ACC CL.FOOD-3SGP lolly already  
*Kenneth has already eaten her lollies.*

- 59) **Ga-da hinaga u manoga.**  
 CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP food TEL cooked  
*Our food is cooked.*

- 60) **Ra=ru mo raha na ga-ra loko.**  
 3NSG=DL REAL scrape ACC CL.FOOD-3NSGP laplap  
*The two of them scraped their laplap (food).*

(JTT033)

- 61) **Na=ni kalo na ga-ku angai.**  
 1SGS=IRR climb ACC CL.FOOD-1SGP canarium  
*I am going to climb the canarium tree to get some nuts for me to eat.*

- 62) **Baldwin vi=ni livu-si ga-da boe.**  
 Baldwin 3SG.IRRS=IRR chase-APPL CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP pig  
*Baldwin will chase a pig for us to eat.*

Most commonly the *ga-* possessive construction is only used to refer to food which is ready to be eaten, and an unharvested plant, or a yet to be slaughtered animal would be referred to using the *bula-* classifier (§7.4.3). However, if the speaker wanted to stress that the item was to be eaten, then the *ga-* classifier would be used. For example, children often point out ripe fruit on trees, and declare *ga-ku* 'it's mine (to eat)'. More detail on the use of different classifiers with the same nominal, as a tool for demonstrating the function which the possessed item has for the possessor, is discussed in §7.5.

There is one relation which does not relate to food possession which is expressed by the classifier *ga-*, and that is illnesses (63). One might expect an illness to be inalienably possessed in the way that body fluids and scretions are, but one's illnesses can never be described using a direct possessive construction.

- 63)     **ga-ra**                    **sege-ana**  
           CL.FOOD-3NSGP sick-NR  
           *their illness(es)*

#### 7.4.2 RELATIONAL CLASSIFIER *ME-*

A nominal enters into a *me-* possessive construction if the function of the possessee for the possessor is that it is something for her/him to drink. Thus the possession of 'drinkable' items such as *ti* 'tea', *wai* 'water' and *malogu* 'kava', can be referred to using this classifier. Also included in this relationship are some plants which are classified as 'drinkable' rather than edible, such as *tovu* 'sugarcane' (64) and *lamani* 'lemons' (65). Sugarcane and lemons are also considered to be 'drinkable' in other Oceanic languages, such as Tamambo (Vanuatu, Jauncey 1997), Lewo (Vanuatu, Early 1994), and Fijian (Dixon 1988). This is not surprising, as these are thirst-quenching items which one can suck.

- 64)     **me-ku**                    **tovu**  
           CL.DRINK-1SGP sugarcane  
           *my sugarcane*
- 65)     **Go=bitu**    **na**    **lamani**    **me-i**                    **Lulu.**  
           2SGS=pick ACC lemon CL.DRINK-CONST Lulu  
           *Pick some lemons for Lulu to drink.*

Medicine is considered to be 'drinkable', whether it be in liquid or tablet form, as even then, it is swallowed with water.

- 66)     **Go=dono**            **na**    **me-mu**                    **panadol.**  
           2SGS=swallow ACC CL.DRINK-2SGP panadol  
           *Swallow your panadol.*

#### 7.4.3 RELATIONAL CLASSIFIER *BULA-*

The main category of objects which enter into a possessive construction with the classifier *bula-* could be described as 'natural entities', the relationship primarily referring to ownership of animals (67) and crops (68).

- 67)     **Bula-na**            **boe mo gani na bula-da**                    **toa**    **tamwere.**  
           CL.NAT-3SGP pig REAL eat ACC CL.NAT-1NSG.INP chicken always  
           *His pig is always eating our chickens.*
- 68)     **Nu**            **rivu na bule-ku**                    **qeta.**  
           1SGS:TEL plant ACC CL.NAT-1SGP taro  
           *I planted my taro.*



It is not however, simply an agricultural classifier, as also included are animal and plant products, such as feathers and seeds (70), and other items from nature, such as shells and stones. For example, when children play games with small stones, they refer to them as, *buleku vatu* 'my stones', and in a children's game played at night, the children rub their hands together and point to a star, saying:

- 69) **Raha, raha, bule-ku visiu.**  
 scrape scrape CL.NAT-1SGP star  
*Rub, rub, (that's) my star.*

- 70) **Ngie u voli na bule-ku toli-gi.**  
 3SG TEL buy ACC CL.NAT-1SGP seed-AL  
*She bought me some seeds (to plant).*

The class has been extended to include some items introduced by Europeans, which can be thought of as having some life-like characteristics attributed to them, such as motor vehicles and electrical goods.

<i>redio</i>	'radio'
<i>taragi</i>	'car, automobile'
<i>hanwaj</i>	'watch'
<i>tep</i>	'tape recorder'

The other sub-class of items which enter into a *bula-* possessive construction are those which refer to objects of adornment. These items are not inalienably possessed as items of clothing are.

<i>vake</i>	Bis. 'navangge' (ankle rattles which are worn for traditional dances, and are made from the dried seed of the fruit from the ankle rattle tree, <i>pangium edule</i> .)
<i>iaring</i>	'earrings'
<i>lala</i>	'bracelet'

In a number of Oceanic languages, mainly those of North Vanuatu, a classifier which is cognate with Ambae, *bula-*, can be used to signify a relationship between a possessor and their prized possessions (Lichtenberk 1983b). There is some evidence that this was the case in Ambae, as one of the most valuable possessions, a *qatu koru* 'dried pig's skull', can be alternatively referred to using *bula-* or *no-*. With this in mind, it is possible that the reason that objects such as cars and radios take the classifier *bula-*, is because they are considered to be prized objects, and not that they have some life-like qualities. Many other introduced valuable 'whitemen's' goods are generally assigned the *no-* classifier, notably *mane* 'money'. Likewise, are earrings objects of adornment, or a valued possession? Or are they included in this relationship due to the fact that such objects of adornment were traditionally all made from 'natural' objects, such as feathers and seeds? The boundaries of this category of possession are a little unclear, and this is demonstrated by the fact that

there is variation between speakers' use of classifiers with some introduced objects, such as cameras and bicycles. *Qana*, the woven pandanus mats which are an important exchange item, are definitely prized possessions, but only occur with *no-* or in an inalienable construction. This would suggest that the main features of the *bula* relationship are certainly that the possessed is a natural, or life-like object, but there are some exceptions which are difficult to account for.

#### 7.4.4 RELATIONAL CLASSIFIER *no-*

The *no-* classifier can be considered a general classifier, as it specifies a range of possessive relationships, which are distinguished by the fact that they cannot be classified as being related to any of the other categories of possessive relationship specified; it is the default category. Having said that, the objects which are generally referred to in the *no-* possessive construction can be categorised to some extent. Included in this possessive relationship are: traditional 'ownership' of objects (71); people in a relationship to the possessor other than one of kin (72, 73); activities such as work (74); and mental processes or natural behaviours, if they are not part of a direct possessive construction (75).

- 71)    **Ngire no-ra**                      **bubusi hate.**  
        3NSG CL.GEN-3NSGP    gun        NEG  
        *They didn't have guns.*

(SS011)

- 72)    **No-da**                      **hala mo dadari.**  
        CL.GEN-1NSG.INP    visitor    REAL arrive  
        *Our visitor has arrived.*

- 73)    **no-ku**                      **buluana**  
        CL.GEN-1SGP    friend  
        *my friend*

- 74)    **Gai-siwo ra=u**                      **vei no-na**                      **tabana-gi.**  
        NUM-nine 3NSGS=TEL    do    CL.GEN-3SGP    work-NR  
        *Nine (of them) did his work.*

(EK005)

- 75)    **...mo bulu-tegi na no-ra**                      **domi-ana...**  
        REAL    join-APPL ACC    CL.GEN-3NSGP    think-NR  
        *...they joined together their thoughts...*

(JH011)

## 7.5 VARIATION IN POSSESSIVE RELATIONSHIP

There has been much debate in the Oceanic literature (Lynch 1973, Pawley 1973, Lichtenberk 1983b, Pawley and Sayaba 1990) about the exact function in different Oceanic languages of what I have termed, after Lichtenberk (1983b) 'relational classifiers'. The main dispute has been about whether or not Oceanic languages can be said to have a noun class system. It is now generally agreed that in most languages, the 'classifiers'<sup>3</sup> mark, not the class of the possessee, but rather they signify the relationship which the possessor has to it. In Ambae at least, it is certainly not true to say that these classifiers are 'genitive classifiers', which would suggest that every nominal is assigned to a fixed class, and must invariably occur with the specified classifier. On the contrary, the relational classifiers are used as a tool to express a semantic relationship between the possessor and the possessee, in the given context. Thus it is not true to say that, for example, *wai* 'water' belongs to the *me-* class of drinkable items, and will always occur in a possessive construction with the classifier *me-*, but rather, that in a possessive construction, the possessive relationship between the possessor, and the nominal, *wai* 'water' is most commonly expressed using the possessive marker *me-*, as this is the most common semantic relationship that exists between the two, i.e. water is commonly seen as something which we drink (76). However, water can also be used for such things as washing clothes, and bathing, in which case the *no-* relational classifier (77) and the direct possessive construction (78) are used respectively. By such a manipulation of the possessive construction, different semantic relations between the possessor and possessee can thus be expressed.

- 76)    **Na=ni**    **utu**            **na**    **me-mu**            **wai.**  
       1SGS=IRR draw.water    ACC    CL.DRINK-2SGP    water  
       *I will draw you some water (to drink).*

- 77)    **Na=ni**    **utu**            **na**    **no-mu**            **wai.**  
       1SGS=IRR draw.water    ACC    CL.GEN-2SGP    water  
       *I will draw you some water (to wash with, or use for some purpose).*

- 78)    **Na=ni**    **utu**            **na**    **wai-mu.**  
       1SGS=IRR draw.water    ACC    water-2SGP  
       *I will draw you some water (to bathe with).*

Note that these examples demonstrate how, not only can a particular nominal occur with different classifiers, but also, some items can be both alienably and inalienably possessed, if an object can plausibly be thought of as both an inalienable, intimately related item in one context, and an alienable object in another. According to Aikhenvald (f.c.a) this is true of all languages which possess an alienable-inalienable distinction. Thus some nouns which essentially belong to the subclass of free common nouns can occur in a direct possessive construction. Some more examples are shown in Table 7.4, plus example sentences demonstrating the borrowed noun *tabu* 'taboo' in (79) and (80).

<sup>3</sup> In descriptions of Oceanic languages these have been variously termed possessive markers, genitive particles, and noun classifiers.

	DIRECT	INDIRECT ( <i>no-</i> )
<i>ahi</i> 'song'	a song which is about the possessor	a song which is either written by, or a favourite of, the possessor
<i>leo</i> 'talk, language'	a person's (native) language, or style of language	speech or discussion by a person
<i>nunu</i> 'image'	an image (photo, reflection, shadow) of the possessor	an image (photo, drawing, etc.) owned by the possessor
<i>tabu</i> 'taboo'	a taboo which is placed on the possessor	a taboo which has been placed by the possessor
<i>tano</i> 'land, place'	the place where the possessor is from, or has a sense of belonging to	land owned by the possessor
<i>vale</i> 'house'	the house where the possessor lives	a house owned by the possessor
<i>wai</i> 'water'	water which is used by the possessor for bathing	water which is owned by the possessor, as in a well, etc.

Table 7.4 Nouns which can function as the possessee in both direct and indirect possessive constructions

- 79) **Neu tabu-ku huri na=ni dige lolo aho.**  
 1SG taboo-1SGP PURP 1SGS=IRR walk in sun  
*It is taboo for me to walk in the sun.*

- 80) **Ngie u teu na no-na tabu huri tangaloi ra=ni mese**  
 3SG TEL put ACC CL.GEN-3SGP taboo PURP people 3NSG=IRR DEHOR  
**vano lolo talu-ne.**  
 go in garden-3SGP  
*He placed his taboo, so that people must not go into his garden.*

The situation in Ambae is similar to that which Pawley and Sayaba (1990) describe for possessive constructions in Wayan Fijian. Only certain nouns, namely kin terms, part-whole relations, and positional relations are limited to occurring in a single possessive construction. These are all bound nouns, and thus must occur either in a direct possessive construction, or suffixed with the alienable suffix *-gi*. All other nominals for which a possessive relationship can be expressed could conceivably occur in at least two different possessive constructions. The extent to which different nominals are free to occur with different classifiers, or be either directly or indirectly possessed, varies according to the relationships which a given nominal may plausibly have with a possessor.

In Ambae there is great variation in the extent to which different nominals can take part in a range of possessive constructions. Body parts, for example, are usually inalienably possessed when the part is being referred to in relation to the body to which it is attached.

There are contexts however, in which a body part could occur in a possessive construction with the classifier *ga-*, if, for example, someone was intending to eat a particular part of an animal (81). Likewise, a body part could occur with the classifier *no-*, if it was an item which someone owned, or possessed for a particular purpose (82).

- 81)     **Ga-ku**            **karu-gi**  
          CL.FOOD-1SGP leg-AL  
          *My leg to eat (e.g. of chicken)*

- 82)     **No-ku**            **qatu**    **koru**  
          CL.GEN-1SGP head dry  
          *My dried (pig's) head*

These are fairly limited scenarios, and it is highly unlikely, for example, that the *singo-* 'lips' of any person or animal, would have anything but an inalienable relationship to their 'possessor'.

With regard to nouns occurring in different indirect possessive constructions, there are certainly some lexically conditioned restrictions which dictate which classifiers can be used to indicate possession of a particular item. In some cases a noun is restricted to occurring in one particular possessive construction. For example, *iri* 'fan', and *talai* 'axe', only ever occur in a possessive construction with the classifier *no-*. This does not imply, however, that by virtue of the fact that a particular noun always occurs with the same classifier, it therefore belongs to the class of 'general nouns'. On the contrary, this merely reflects that, in accordance with the semantic properties of the object, this is the only plausible relationship which it could have with a possessor.

Likewise, a *siviru* 'rainbow lorikeet' is not commonly something which people own, but if it were, then it would generally be only as a pet, and thus referred to using the classifier *bula-*. However, I once heard a rather cruel, but creative speaker, demonstrate how the possessive system can be used as a tool for expressing the possessor's intentions with regard to an object, by discussing a child's adored pet using the classifier *ga-*:

- 83)     **Aa, na=ni**    **geni na**    **ga-ku**            **siviru**    **tagaha?!**  
          ah 1SGS=IRR eat ACC CL.FOOD-1SGP lorikeet when  
          *Ah, when shall I eat my rainbow lorikeet?!*

While kinterms, body parts, and animals which do not tend to be eaten, are usually only seen in one particular type of possessive construction, there are a considerable number of nouns which quite commonly occur in a variety of possessive constructions. Table 7.5 illustrates just some of these nouns, and how use of the direct, rather than indirect possessive construction, or one classifier rather than another, defines the nature of the possessive relationship between the possessor and the possessee.

	DIRECT	<i>ga-</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>bula-</i>	<i>no-</i>
<i>wai</i> 'water'	water used for bathing	-	water used for drinking	-	water used for washing clothes, etc., or personal water supply
<i>natu</i> 'child, offspring, piglet'	child, offspring (of any animal)	piglet for eating	-	piglet which is owned	piglet which has a purpose (one that you killed, sold, etc.)
<i>toli</i> 'egg, seed'	egg which has been laid	egg to be eaten (most likely to be chicken's if not specified)	-	seeds for planting	seed or egg being used for a specific purpose (e.g. children's game)
<i>bue</i> 'knife, bamboo'	-	-	-	bamboo which is <u>plaited</u>	knife, or bamboo used for sth (e.g. building house)
<i>moli</i> 'citrus fruit, ball'	-	(citrus fruit) for eating	(citrus fruit) squeezed, for <u>drinking</u>	ball (citrus fruit) owned tree	(ball) to play with in a game
<i>matui</i> 'coconut (tree, plantation, mature fruit, or copra)'	-	mature coconut for eating	juice from mature coconut for drinking	coconut tree or plantation	coconut tree or fruit to be used for a specific purpose (e.g. selling, trunk used in building), particularly copra
<i>hinaga</i> 'food'	-	food for eating	-	food plants	food being prepared or given away
<i>qeta</i> 'taro'	-	taro for eating	-	taro which is <u>planted</u>	taro being prepared or given away
<i>malogu</i> 'kava'	-	-	kava for drinking (irrespective of whether or not it has already been prepared)	kava which is planted (either kava garden, or individual plants)	kava to be sold (or for some other purpose)
<i>veveo</i> 'pandanus, weaving'	-	-	-	pandanus plant	prepared pandanus for weaving, a <u>piece of weaving</u>
<i>here</i> 'bed, place to sit, coconut leaf mat or torch'	bed, place to sit	-	-	-	stool, mat made from coconut leaf, or dried coconut leaves used as torch

Table 7.5 Nouns which can function as the possessee in different possessive constructions

Taking some examples from Table 7.5, sentences (84-88) illustrate how *moli* 'citrus fruit, ball' can occur in an indirect possessive construction with any one of the relational classifiers. This noun has two different meanings, and the classifier used can clarify which meaning is being specified. If *moli* occurs with either the food or drink classifier it would logically mean 'citrus fruit', and if it occurred with the general classifier then it would be specifying 'ball'. If however it occurs with the classifier *bula-*, then it could specify either 'citrus fruit' or 'ball'.

- 84) **Go=hibi na ga-ku moli.**  
 2SGS=peel ACC CL.FOOD-1SGP citrus  
*Peel my orange/pomelo (for me to eat).*
- 85) **Ngie u inu na me-ku moli.**  
 3SG TEL drink ACC CL.DRINK-1SGP citrus  
*S/he drank my orange/pomelo juice.*
- 86) **Neu bule-ku vui-ni moli gai-tolu lobe na vale-ku.**  
 1SG CL.NAT-1SGP trunk-CONST citrus NUM-three near ACC house-1SGP  
*I have three citrus trees near my house.*
- 87) **Ngire mwalakelo ra=mo mwoso-mwoso-gi na bule-ku moli.**  
 3NSG youth 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-play-APPL ACC CL.NAT-1SGP ball  
*Those youths are playing with my ball.*
- 88) **Go=tuli na moli lawe-eu, ngie no-ku.**  
 2SGS=throw ACC ball DAT-1SGO 3SG CL.GEN-1SGP  
*Throw the ball to me, it's mine (to pass, kick in a game).*

*Natu* 'offspring' can occur in all but one of the possible possessive constructions; either in a direct construction (89) or with any of the classifiers except the drink classifier *me-*. *Natu* can refer to the offspring of humans or of any animal. When it refers to human offspring however, the form must be directly possessed. If the form occurs without it being specified whose or what kind of animal's offspring it is, then it is understood that it is a pig's offspring which is being referred to. Thus in (90-93), either *natu* alone or *natu-i boe* 'piglet' can occur, but if it is not specified that it is pig's offspring, then this is assumed. If, on the other hand, one was referring to dog's offspring, for example, this would need to be clearly stated.

- 89) **Ngie netu-ne gai-lime.**  
 3SG offspring-3SGP NUM-five  
*S/he has five children/ young. (i.e. said of humans or animals)*



- 90) **Go=lehi na natu(-i boe).**  
 2SGS=look ACC offspring-CONST pig  
*Look at the baby pig.*
- 91) **Da=hongi na ga-da natu(-i boe) lo tahi.**  
 1NSG.INS=spit.roast ACC CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP offspring-CONST pig LOC sea  
*Let's spit roast a suckling pig for us to eat, at the sea.*
- 92) **Tangaloi gatigale u belu na bule-ku natu(-i boe).**  
 person NUM.one TEL steal ACC CL.NAT-1SGP offspring-CONST pig  
*Someone has stolen my piglet (live).*
- 93) **Ngie no-ku natu(-i boe) huri na=ni sogagini=e.**  
 3SG CL.GEN-1SGP offspring-CONST pig PURP 1SGS=IRR sell:APPL=3SGO  
*That is my piglet (dead, for meat) that I am going to sell.*

So, as all these examples indicate, the classifiers do not just specify an attribute of the possessee, but rather, they do have a significant functional load, in giving information concerning the purpose of the possessed item for the possessor.

There are also a small number of nouns which can occur in different possessive constructions, with seemingly no difference in meaning.

- 94) **aka-ra bula-ra aka no-ra aka**  
 canoe-3NSGP CL.NAT-3NSGP canoe CL.GEN-3NSGP canoe  
*their canoe(s)*
- 95) **doridori-mu no-mu doridori**  
 manner-2SGP CL.GEN-2SGP manner  
*your manner*

## 7.6 ASSOCIATIVE CONSTRUCTION

The structure of the associative construction is identical to that of the direct complex possessive construction, but the construction is used whether the head noun is inalienable or alienable. The relationship between the 'possessee' and the 'possessor' is indicated by the construct suffix *-(n)i* on the 'possessee' noun. If the 'possessor' is not expressed, the 'possessee' is marked with the associative suffix *-gi*, to indicate that an associative relationship exists (§7.6.6). In contrast to a direct possessive construction, the possessive suffixes are never used to express the 'possessor', as it is always non-specific. I use the term 'associative' to describe this construction following Hill (1992, 1994), after Dixon (1988).



NPpossessee-(n)i NPpossessor  
NPpossessee-gi

Associative relationships are similar to possessive relationships in that they both describe the relationship which exists between two objects, and in many ways an associative relationship could be thought of as a type of possession. There is, however, an important difference. The difference lies in the specificity of the possessor. In a possessive relationship, the possessor is specific, referential, and usually an animate being. In an associative relationship the possessor is non-specific; it refers to a generic class of objects. Thus for example, while in the possessive construction *vale-i Stephen* 'Stephen's house', the possessor is a specific person, in the associative construction *vale-i boe* 'pig's house', the 'possessor' is the class of pigs, and the construction functions to modify the head noun 'house', by identifying a particular type of house within the class of houses. So in this example the meaning conveyed by the associative construction is that the house is, 'a type of house associated with pigs'. The expression *vale-i boe* could also describe a direct possessive relationship, if the possessor was a specific pig. The overlap between direct possessive constructions and associative constructions is discussed in §7.6.5. Hooper (1985) surveys the form of possessive constructions in a number of Oceanic languages, and demonstrates that in some languages, like Ambae, the same construction is used regardless of whether the 'possessor' is generic or specific, but in many languages a different construction must be used.

The exact nature of the associative relationship can be hard to categorise in some instances, but associative constructions can be thought of as describing four main relationships:

- the relationship between a container and its contents;
- the relationship between a measure and what is measured;
- the relationship between an entity and a type of entity; and
- the purpose or function of an item.

The first three of these categories I have taken from Hill (1992) as the ones which she distinguishes for Longgu (an Oceanic language of the Solomon Islands), and I recognise a further category which expresses purpose. The associative construction is often used to express the purposive in Oceanic languages (Malcolm Ross p.c.). While I distinguish these four categories of relationships, there is some overlap between them. For example, *hinaga-lagi-ana* 'wedding food' could be said to fall into the category of 'a type of food', or 'food which has a particular purpose'. While such overlap in meaning does occur, it is certainly useful to distinguish these four categories as a means of describing the relationships which can be described by an associative construction.

#### 7.6.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A CONTAINER AND ITS CONTENTS

In most cases where the associative construction describes the relationship between a container and its contents, it could also be describing a slightly different relationship

between an entity and a type of entity, which is generally also a meaning of purpose. Thus if in (96) the construction is being used to refer to the relationship between a container and its contents, then what is being referred to is a bag which has copra inside it. If, however, the intended meaning is that of a relationship between an entity and a type of entity, or the function of the item, then the bag may or may not have copra in it at the time, but what is being stated is that it is the type of bag which is used for putting copra in, or that its purpose is to have copra put in it.

- 96) bagi-ni      **matui**  
 bag-CONST coconut  
*a bag of copra OR a copra bag (bag for copra) .*
- 97) tanga-i      **qana**  
 basket-CONST k.o.mat  
*a basket of mats OR a mat bag (a basket for keeping mats in).*

#### 7.6.2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A MEASURE AND WHAT IS MEASURED

Where objects are grouped according to some kind of form of measurement or arrangement, the relationship between the measure and what is being measured can be expressed by an associative construction.

- 98) bubu-i      **buli**  
 pile-CONST timber  
*a pile of timber*
- 99) buri-i      **vavine**  
 group-CONST woman  
*a group of women/ a women's group*
- 100) wesi-wesi-ni      **veveo**  
 REDUP-tie-CONST pandanus  
*a bundle of pandanus*

#### 7.6.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AN ENTITY AND A TYPE OF ENTITY

An associative construction can function to specify a particular type of entity, that is, it can describe the relationship between the generic and the more specific. There are many different types of things which can be identified and characterised using this construction. *Gamali* are community houses, most commonly where men meet together, discuss matters, and drink kava. If however one wanted to talk about a meeting house which is used for a different purpose, this could be expressed by an associative construction (101).

- 101) Na=ni laqa-gi huri na gamali; gamali-ni  
 1SGS=IRR speak-APPL PURP ACC club.house club.house-CONST  
 ga-mai hinaga.  
 CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP food

*I will speak about the club house; the club house for our food.*

(MN001-2)

- 102) ...go=ni rongo na leo-ni tatai...  
 2SGS=IRR hear ART language-CONST tattoo  
 ..you are going to hear the talk about tattoos...

(LT1.001)

When talking about plants and animals, they can be classed according to type using an associative construction, as in, for example, referring to trees, flowers or animals of a particular place (103).

- 103) Kakarue-i ute tau Australia ra=u do-dolue.  
 animal-CONST place DEN Australia 3NSGS=TEL REDUP-different  
*The animals in (of) Australia are very different.*

In order to characterise someone as a particular type of person, the dependent noun in an associative construction with *tangaloi* 'person' as its head can be used to describe qualities of that person.

- 104) Ngie hate a tangaloi-ni ga-garu garea.  
 3SG NEG NOM person-CONST REDUP-swim good  
*S/he isn't a good swimmer.*

#### 7.6.4 THE PURPOSE OR FUNCTION OF AN ITEM

An associative relationship can express that an object or a class of objects has a specific purpose. So in (22) different lots of *veveo* 'pandanus' are being cut, and assigned the purpose of being used to weave different mats. These are not different types of pandanus, it is all from the same pandanus plant, but what is meant is that the pandanus which is being cut is going to be used for weaving different mats.

- 105) Na=ni teve ngi-ngaha vi vora-gi na veveo-ni  
 1SGS-IRR cut DEM-this 3SGS-IRR born-APPL ACC pandanus-CONST  
 ngava hangavulu. Ngi-ngaha veveo-ni qiriqiri. Ngi-ngaha  
 length ten DEM-this pandanus-CONST k.o.mat DEM-this

**veveo-ni**                      **qana.**  
 pandanus-CONST mat

*I will cut this and it will be the pandanus for a 'ngava hangavulu' mat. This is the pandanus for a 'qiriqiri' mat. This is the pandanus for a 'qana' mat.*

(LW003-005)

In (106) what is being referred to is a song which a woman composed for the purpose of making her plants grow.

- 106) ...mo lai=e              ngihie mwere    novo-i              rivu-rivu      ngihie.  
 REAL take=3SGO that    like              magic-CONST REDUP-plant that.  
*...she took it as magic for the plants.*

(RS010)

While the associative construction can be used to convey a purposive meaning, there is also a preposition *huri* 'for' which can be used to express the same meaning in a prepositional phrase (§6.5.4). In most cases the same meaning can be expressed using either a purposive prepositional phrase (107 and 109), or an associative construction (108 and 110).

- 107) Ra=mo              vile      na    matui    huri    ga-da                      loko.  
 3NSGS=REAL collect ACC coconut PURP CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP pudding  
*They are collecting the coconuts for our laplap pudding.*

- 108) Ra=mo              vile      na    matui-ni              ga-da                      loko.  
 3NSGS=REAL collect ACC coconut-CONST CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP pudding  
*They are collecting the coconuts for our laplap pudding.*

- 109) Go=wali    na    beleti    huri    na    loko  
 2SGS=get ACC plate PURP ACC pudding  
*Get the plate for the laplap pudding.*

- 110) Go=wali    na    beleti-ni      loko  
 2SGS=get ACC plate-CONST pudding  
*Get the plate off/for (the) laplap pudding.*

#### 7.6.4.1 *Vai* 'DO, THING'

While it is only nouns that can enter into associative constructions, the root *vai*, which generally functions as a verb meaning 'to do, make', can enter into an associative construction, where it takes on the meaning 'thing associated with'. The construction always has a purposive meaning in this case.

- 111) **Ngihie vai-ni vol-voli-ni vavine.**  
 that do-CONST REDUP-buy-CONST woman  
*That is something that is used for a bride price for women.*
- (LW035)
- 112) **Ra=mo gato-gato-gi huri vai-ni kastom guwerigi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-speak-APPL THEME do-CONST tradition small  
*They spoke about minor things related to tradition*
- 113) **Gineu ngire vai-ni bulu vale.**  
 thing 3NSG do-CONST build house  
*Those things are things for building houses.*

Just as *gineu* ‘thing’ is commonly used if someone doesn’t know or can’t remember the name of something, this associative construction is used in such circumstances, and in particular for talking about introduced items which do not have a language name (115 and 116). Thus if someone sees an item which they are not familiar with and they don’t know what its function is, they would be likely to ask:

- 114) **Vai-ni havai?**  
 do-CONST what  
*What is this thing (for)?*

To which an appropriate response might be:

- 115) **vai-ni vulu-ku**  
 do-CONST hair-1SGP  
*my hairband/ hair elastic* (Lit. something for doing my hair with).
- 116) **vai-ni teve gal**  
 do-CONST cut tree  
*a saw* (Lit. something for cutting trees/ wood with).

#### 7.6.5 OVERLAP BETWEEN DIRECT POSSESSION AND ASSOCIATION

The fact that the associative construction has the same form as the direct possessive construction means that, with regards items which are inalienably possessed, the same construction is used to state the specific possessor of an inalienably possessed item, and the type of a particular entity. Thus for example, the same construction is used to refer to ‘Danuta’s bone’ (117), and ‘human bone’ (118). The construction in (119) expresses an inalienable possessive relationship, where the *ahi* ‘song’ is one which is about the

possessor. On the other hand, (120) contains an associative construction, which functions to state what type of song is being sung. Examples of nouns which can enter into this construction to describe either a possessive or associative relationship can be seen in Table 7.6.

- 117) **Hui-ni**        **Danuta u**        **ma-volo.**  
bone-CONST Danuta TEL ANTI-break  
*Danuta's bone broke.*
- 118) **Liue-gi**    **hui-ni**        **tangaloi lo**    **duvi-gi**  
arrow-AL bone-CONST person LOC end-AL  
*The arrows had human bone on the ends.*  

(SS013)
- 119) **Mo**    **maraga**    **mo**    **singi**    **na**    **ahi-ni**        **vavine**    **gai-rue**    **ngire.**  
REAL get.up REAL sing ACC song-CONST woman NUM-two 3NSG  
*Then he sang the song off/about the two women.*  

(MTT013)
- 120) **Ga=mo**        **tuli**        **na**    **ahi-ni**        **sawa,**        **ga=mo**        **wetu.**  
1NSG.EXS=REAL throw ACC song-CONST k.o.dance 1NSG.EXS=REAL dance  
*We started up the song for the 'sawagoro' dance and we danced.*  

(LV)

DIRECT POSSESSION	ASSOCIATION
<i>tama-i Langa</i> 'Langa's father'	<i>tama-i maresu</i> 'a father (of children)'
<i>dai-ni Jungle</i> 'Jungle (a dog)'s blood'	<i>dai-ni boe</i> 'pig's blood'
<i>wai-ni Rohan</i> 'Rohan's bathing water'	<i>wai-ni matui</i> 'coconut water (liquid)'
<i>gamali-ni Robert</i> 'Robert's clubhouse'	<i>gamali-ni malogu</i> 'kava clubhouse'
<i>bari-ni Jenita</i> 'Jenita's skirt'	<i>bari-ni wetu</i> 'a dancing skirt'
<i>turegi-ni Aaron</i> 'Aaron's road'	<i>turegi-ni taragi</i> 'a main road for cars'
<i>bongi-ni Reuben</i> 'anniversary of Reuben's death'	<i>bongi-ni va-vatu</i> 'weaving day'

Table 7.6 Nouns which can function as the head of direct possessive and associative constructions

In the examples shown in Table 7.6, the contrast between direct possession and association is obvious, as the possessor in all the examples of direct possession is a proper noun, quite clearly a specific possessor. However, while I have given an associative translation for all the examples in column 2, in order to illustrate the contrast in meaning between the two construction types, most of these examples could also have a direct possession reading. In

some cases, exactly the same phrase could be describing either a possessive or an associative relationship. Examples of such are given in Table 7.7. In these instances, any ambiguity would generally be resolved from the context.

	DIRECT POSSESSION	ASSOCIATION
<i>retahi-i maresu</i>	'a/the child's mother'	'a mother'
<i>dilo-i vavine</i>	'a/the woman's voice'	'a female voice'
<i>tai-ni keru-i boe</i>	'a/the pig's footprint'	'a pig footprint'
<i>ara-i bulugi</i>	'a/the cow's fence'	'a cattle fence'
<i>tai-ni kiriu</i>	'a/the dog's shit'	'dog shit'
<i>toli-i manu</i>	'a/the bird's egg'	'a bird's egg'
<i>bani-ni toa</i>	'a/the chicken's wing'	'chicken wings'
<i>getugetu-i vale</i>	'a/the walls of the house'	'house walling'

Table 7.7 Nouns which can function as the head of a construction with both direct possessive and associative readings

#### 7.6.6 ASSOCIATIVE SUFFIX *-gi*

As noted above (§7.3), if a bound noun occurs outside a direct possessive construction then it must be suffixed with the alienable suffix *-gi*. Free nouns can also take a suffix *-gi*, although in this case, the suffix indicates that the nominal referent is involved in an associative relationship, but the object with which it is associated is not expressed. While these two functions of *-gi* are clearly in complementary distribution, one occurring on bound nouns, the other on free nouns, they do have markedly different functions and thus it is important to distinguish them. The alienable suffix does not really carry any meaning, it simply allows a bound noun to occur outside a direct possessive construction. By contrast, if a free noun occurs suffixed with *-gi*, then it indicates that the referent is involved in an associative relationship. The implication is that the object has a specific function, but this function is not expressed, generally because it should be clear to the addressee from the context. I therefore distinguish these two suffixes, glossing one as AL, the alienable suffix, and the other as ASS, the associative suffix.

The sentences in (121) are taken from a procedural text about making *loko*, a food dish like a type of pudding. The speaker is stating all the things that are needed for the pudding, and all the nouns which refer to these items are marked with the associative suffix *-gi* to indicate that they are things which are used in the making of the pudding. It is not necessary to explicitly state in each case that the items are being used for the pudding, but suffixation with *-gi* makes it clear that these are all things which have a particular purpose. As the specific function of all the items is clear from the context, the nouns are simply suffixed with the associative suffix to indicate this, and are not, in this case, part of an associative construction.

- 121) **Da=mo tai na avi-gi, da=mo lai na**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC firewood-ASS 1NSG.INS=REAL take ACC  
**robo-gi, da=mo lai na qeta-gi.**  
 large.leaf-ASS 1NSG.INS=REAL take ACC taro-ASS  
*We chop the firewood, and we get the laplap (pudding) leaves, and*  
*we get the taro.*

(ML004-6)

In (122), marking of *rani* 'day' with the associative suffix indicates that the day referred to is not just any old day, but a day on which a particular event will happen. The speaker wants the addressee to know that a particular day is being referred to, but the addressee should know the purpose of this special day from the context.

- 122) **Mo maraga mo tau na rani-gi lawe=a, mo=vo mavugo.**  
 REAL get.up REAL put ACC day-ASS BEN=3SGO REAL=say tomorrow  
*So then he put a day for it (their race) to him, he said tomorrow.*

(SGH010)

When trying to think of a noun which would never be able to occur with the associative suffix attached, I thought of *vuhe* 'green coconut'. They are things which we drink, and this does not need to be stated as a function of green coconuts. My informant initially agreed with me, stating that (123) would not be an acceptable sentence, but then she recalled a type of breadfruit pudding which is made by pounding the breadfruit with a whole green coconut. If one required a coconut for this purpose, then (123) would indeed be an appropriate utterance. My informants and I were unable to think of an example of a noun which could not be suffixed with the associative suffix if one wanted to state that its referent had a particular function.

- 123) **Go=kalo na vuhe-gi.**  
 2SGS=climb ACC green.COCO-ASS  
*Climb and get a green coconut (for making special type of breadfruit pudding).*

However, as an example where the associative suffix would not be appropriate, sentence (124) would not make sense with *-gi* as this would indicate that the food is for a particular occasion, and this is incompatible with the habitual nature of the action specified by the aspectual adverb *tamwere* 'always'.

- 124) **Ra=mo balu na ga-da hinaga(\*-gi) tamwere.**  
 3NSGS=REAL steal ACC CL:FOOD-1NSG.INP food(-ASS) always  
*They always steal our food.*



Sentences (125) and (126) are examples where the speakers have referred to an object initially and used the suffix *-gi* to indicate that the item is involved in an associative relationship; it is something that has a specific function. Then, in both cases, the speakers realise that the actual associative relationship may not be clear from the context, and thus, as an afterthought, the purpose of the item is explicitly stated in an associative construction.

- 125) Gai-gi, gai-ni garo ngihie maraweko.  
 tree-ASS tree-CONST rope that k.o.tree  
*The tree, the tree (that is used) for the rope, is the maraweko tree.*  
 (MD037)

- 126) Da=mo huru na avi-gi, avi-ni vatu-gi.  
 1NSG.INS=REAL light.fire ACC fire-ASS fire-CONST stone-ASS  
*We light the fire, the fire for the stones (which are being used for cooking).*  
 (ML045)

It is possible for some free nouns to form the head of both a direct and an indirect possessive construction (§7.5), but due to the fact that they are free nouns, they are not required to be suffixed with the alienable suffix *-gi* when functioning as the head of an NP outside a possessive construction. Therefore, if they do occur suffixed with *-gi*, this clearly indicates that the referent is involved in an associative relationship, rather than that the noun is a bound noun occurring outside a possessive construction. As an example, *vale* 'house' is not a bound noun, but it usually occurs in a direct possessive construction to indicate the house where the possessor lives. If *vale* occurs in an indirect possessive construction, this would have to mean, not the house in which the possessor lives, but which they use for another purpose, for example one that they rent (127). As *vale* is not a bound noun, when it occurs outside a direct possessive construction it is not suffixed with the alienable suffix *-gi*. If it does occur suffixed with *-gi*, then this is the associative suffix, and indicates that the *vale* is associated with something in particular, but what that is, is not stated (128).

- 127) Mo redi na . no-mai vale.  
 REAL rent ACC CL.GEN-1NSG.EXP house  
*S/he is renting our house.*
- 128) Ra=ni bulu na vale-gi.  
 3NSGS=IRR build ACC house-ASS  
*They will build the house for it (for a particular purpose, e.g. as a birthing house, garage, toilet, etc.).*

## 7.7 INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

In an indirect possessive construction, where the choice of classifier used gives some indication of the semantic field which the possessee belongs to, the suffixed classifier can occur on its own in an NP, as the examples below demonstrate. Note that sentence (130) conveys basically the same meaning as (129). The expression in (130) conveys that the speaker wants some pudding, and wants the addressee to give her/him some. But it is not necessary to overtly state this, as it is understood from the use of a particular classifier.

- 129) **Go=bete ga-ku.**  
 2SGS=give CL.FOOD-1SGP  
*Give me some (food).*
- 130) **Ga-ku tea (loko).**  
 CL.FOOD-1SGP some pudding  
*Some pudding for me (to eat).*
- 131) **Vi=ni gugu ga-da.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR cook CL.FOOD-1NSG.NP  
*S/he is going to cook some food for us (to eat).*
- 132) **No=mo bete me-i tue-ku.**  
 1SGS=REAL give CL.DRINK-CONST same.sex.sib-1SGP  
*I give some to my brother (to drink).*

(LK017)

## 7.8 DEFINITENESS IN POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In most cases, the head noun of an object NP, whether it is a direct object, or the object of a preposition, must be preceded by an article, *na*, which specifies accusative case (§3.4.3.1). The exception is where the object noun phrase is formed by a possessive construction, in which case the accusative article is not obligatory, and the presence or absence of the article can serve to indicate specificity, or prior ownership. A good verb to illustrate this contrast with is *bete* 'to give'. This verb can take a benefactive object to indicate the recipient, but it is not obligatory. Usually, if there is no benefactive object, it is understood that the speaker is the recipient (133). However, if the direct object NP is a possessive construction, then it is understood that the possessor is also the recipient, unless otherwise stated by a benefactive prepositional phrase (134). Where the possessor indicates the recipient, if there is no article before the object NP, then this specifies that the item is not something which already belongs to the possessor, but rather that s/he is being given something which will then become her/his possession after the act of giving (135). If, however, the article does

occur in the NP, then the meaning is that the item which is being given is already owned by the recipient, so by having it given to her/him, s/he is having something which already belongs to her/him returned (136).

- 133) **Go=bete na boe (lawe=eu).**  
 2SGS=give ACC pig DAT=1SGO  
*Give me a/the pig.*
- 134) **Go=bete na bula-na boe (lawe=eu).**  
 2SGS=give ACC CL.NAT-3SGP pig DAT=1SGO  
*Give him his pig. (or (with following benefactive phrase) Give his pig to me.)*
- 135) **Go=bete bule-ku boe**  
 2SGS=give CL.NAT-1SGP pig  
*Give me a pig. (i.e. I want you to give me a pig, which will become mine.)*
- 136) **Go=bete na bule-ku boe**  
 2SGS=give ACC CL.NAT-1SGP pig  
*Give me my pig. (i.e. You have my pig and I want it back.)*

This contrast exists with all verbs, not just verbs like *bete* 'to give' which take benefactive objects. In (137) with the verb *lai* 'to take', lack of an article indicates that the object is indefinite, but the possessive construction indicates not only that it is something which is for the possessor, but also, the classifier indicates the function which it is intended that the item has for the possessor. This is also the case in (138), where the object itself is indefinite, but the classifier specifies not that the possessor owns the item, but merely that it is something for the possessor to use. On the other hand, in (139), where the article occurs, the object is definite, and the possessive construction indicates that the possessor is indeed a possessor in the strict sense.

- 137) **Go=lai ga-ra angai.**  
 2SGS=take CL.FOOD-3NSG canarium  
*Take some canarium nuts for them to eat.*
- 138) **Go=lai no-mu bue, da=vano lolo talu.**  
 2SGS=take CL.GEN-2SGP knife 1NSG.INS=go in garden  
*Take a knife (for you to use), and let's go to the garden.*
- 139) **Go=lai na no-mu tosi, na=ni vano lu-ne lo toilet.**  
 2SGS=take ACC CL.GEN-2SGP torch 1SGS=IRR go on-3SGP LOC toilet  
*Get your torch, and I'll use it to go to the toilet.*

## 7.9 POSSESSIVE CLAUSES

In Ambae there is no verb 'to have', or any equivalent verbal construction used for predicating possession of an object. In order to predicate that someone possesses an object, a nonverbal clause is used which consists simply of an NP containing a possessive construction, with an optional fronted topic specifying the possessor. The structure of these nonverbal possessive clauses is discussed in detail in §13.

- 140) (Neu) **no-ku**            **bue.**  
       1SG    CL.GEN-1SGP   knife  
       *I have a knife.*

- 141) (Ngie) **no-na**            **mane**    **lu-ne.**  
       3SG    CL.GEN-3SGP   money   on-3SGP  
       *He has money.*

## 7.10 OTHER FORMS WHICH TAKE POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

It should be mentioned here that while I have called the suffixes which mark person and number of the possessor on the classifier or bound noun, 'possessive suffixes', these suffixes can also occur on a few other forms from different word classes. In these cases the suffixes do not indicate a possessive relationship although the association with the possessive meaning can be observed. These forms are listed here, with the section number where they are discussed.

- *sibo-* 'self' used in reflexive, and reciprocal constructions (§9.8.4)
- *lobe* 'near, next to' – noun-like preposition (§6.8.1)
- *lolo* 'in(side), into' – noun-like preposition (§6.8.2)
- *lu* 'on' - noun-like preposition (§6.8.3)
- *to-* 'with, and' – noun-like preposition (§6.4)

# 8

## Spatial reference

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### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

Like many Oceanic languages, and Austronesian languages in general, Ambae has a fairly complex system of spatial reference. There is a set of 'directionals' which involve the interaction between an absolute and a deictic system. The absolute system is based on a division of the environment that uses both the vertical axis and the landward-seaward axis, although it also uses other divisions. Onto this absolute system is mapped a partially deictic system, such that each of the oppositions of the absolute system can be marked according to a three way distinction relative to the participants of the speech act.

The language also employs a set of relational location nouns which are used to express intrinsic relations between objects. The intrinsic system is used to specify the location of objects in terms of small scale relations. The absolute/deictic system, on the other hand, is used to specify both the location of objects and the direction of movement. It operates on both large scale and small scale space. The intrinsic system can also be used in combination with the absolute system on the small scale space to give more detailed specifications of location.

### 8.2 SPATIAL REFERENCE

When referring to the location of objects in space, or the direction of movement incorporated in an event, there are a number of different types of systems which languages employ. Many languages make use of an intrinsic frame of spatial reference, whereby the location of an object can be specified according to its relation to an inherent feature of an item with which it is being compared. So this covers such expressions as, 'in front of me' or 'behind the house'. Humans, due to their asymmetry, are thought of as having fronts, backs and sides, and certain objects can be thought of as having inherent features comparable to the human form. As these are inherent features, they do not change with a change in perspective; the front of the house will be the front of the house, no matter which angle one views it from.

'In front of the tree' however is not an example of intrinsic spatial reference, but rather relative reference. Using a relative system, the manner in which one describes the position of an object depends on the speaker's position in relation to it, and thus this description will change with a change in speaker's position. Trees, at least for speakers of English, and for that matter Ambae, do not have inherent fronts and backs, but in English, we *can* talk about the location 'in front of the tree'. When we refer to the position of an object in relation to a tree, the speaker treats the tree as if it were facing him/her, and thus that part of the tree which is 'facing' the speaker is considered to be its front. It is thus possible to say, 'in front of the tree', but the area of space which this refers to will change according to the viewer's perspective. In Ambae, it is not possible to say 'in front of the tree', as in this language one can only talk about a location 'in front of something' for objects which have intrinsic fronts. Thus a different frame of reference must obviously be used in order to express the relation which in English we would describe as 'in front of the tree'. In Ambae, an absolute system is used in these situations, as there is no relative system in the language.

Many languages possess an absolute system, based on fixed, salient reference points in the speaker's environment. Our cardinal system, distinguishing north, south, east and west, is an absolute system, and many other languages possess a system such as this, which is ultimately based on the path of the sun. Other languages have an absolute system which is based on physical landmarks, such as upriver versus downriver, or landward versus seaward, or based on the direction of prevailing winds. While in English our cardinal system is in fact quite rarely used as a frame of spatial reference, and indeed many speakers cannot use this system very competently at all, in some languages this is the main type of spatial system used, such that all specifications of direction and location are stated using an absolute system. Absolute systems are prominent in Austronesian languages (see e.g. Senft 1997), and it is the distinction of landward versus seaward which is salient in the absolute system of the island-residing, seafaring peoples of Oceania.

All languages possess a system of spatial deixis, whereby the location of objects and their movement in space can be described in relation to the location of the speech act and its central participants, the speaker and addressee. Lyons has defined deixis as "the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee" (Lyons 1977:637). The important point is that deictic expressions are tied to the context of each individual speech act; they do not refer to fixed points or items in space, but rather identify the location of things relative to the speech situation. In terms of deixis, the deictic centre of any speech act is me, here, now, and any information which requires knowledge of the current context in order to be correctly interpreted by the people I am speaking to, is deictic information.

In Austronesian languages there is a tendency for a combination of intrinsic, absolute and deictic systems to be used (as in New Caledonian languages (Ozanne-Rivierre 1997), Longgu, a Southeast Solomonic language (Hill 1997), Muna, a Western Malayo-Polynesian

language of Sulawesi (Van Den Berg 1997), and Taba, a South Halmahera language of Eastern Indonesia (Bowden 1997)). They do not tend to have a relative system<sup>1</sup>. Thus while there are terms for left and right, front and back, above and under, in most Austronesian languages, these terms tend to only be used intrinsically. In fact, with respect to left and right, the use of these terms is often restricted to talking about the left and right sides of a person's body. While it is possible to say that someone is sitting on a person's left or right, in many Austronesian languages this is not the way that such a spatial relationship would normally be expressed, usually this would be expressed in absolute terms. For example, X is sitting on the uphill side of Y. Further, in most Austronesian languages left and right can never be used relatively to state the location of one object in relation to another. Thus one is not able to say, 'The child is to the left/right of the tree.' Nor, when giving directions can you direct someone to turn to the left or right. The absolute/deictic system tends to be used in all of these situations.

### 8.3 DIRECTIONALS

In Ambae there is a set of spatial terms which involves interaction between an absolute and a deictic system. Grammatically, this spatial system is encoded by a set of forms which can function as demonstratives, absolute location nouns, and directional verbs. These forms constitute a separate word class which I refer to as 'directionals'.

Referring to Table 8.1, note that there are nine terms distinguished. The primary distinction reflects the absolute system, in which direction on the vertical axis is specified, distinguishing motion across, on the level (*vano*), from motion up (*hage*), and motion down (*hivo*). This parameter also reflects a division of the landward-seaward axis, such that motion up equates with motion in a landward direction, motion down equates with motion in a seaward direction, and motion along equates with motion parallel to the coastline. In fact the distinctions are more complex than that, as will be shown in the following sections, but I shall first describe the deictic oppositions.

	across/traverse	up/landward	down/seaward
away (from deictic centre)	<i>vano</i>	<i>hage</i>	<i>hivo</i>
towards deictic centre	<i>vanai</i>	<i>hamai</i>	<i>himei</i>
towards addressee, past/future deictic centre	<i>vanatu</i>	<i>hagatu</i>	<i>hivatu</i>

Table 8.1 The directionals

<sup>1</sup> Or rather, they do not have what I have defined here as a relative system. There is some variation in the terminology used to speak about spatial reference (see e.g. Levinson 1996).



## 8.4 SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP TO PARTICIPANTS IN THE SPEECH ACT

As can be seen from Table 8.1, the primary distinction made by the directionals is an absolute distinction, and these forms are marked to specify direction relative to the participants in the speech act. The unmarked forms indicate location or motion in a direction away from the deictic centre, and we can observe the correspondence between these forms and both the forms marked for motion towards the deictic centre, and those marked for motion towards the addressee or the past or future deictic centre. The endings of the forms which specify motion towards the deictic centre are clearly cognate with the Proto Oceanic verb *\*mai* 'come from' (Ross 1988). It can be seen that reduced forms of the basic directional verbs have been suffixed with the directional *-mai*, and some variation has occurred in the form of this suffix.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, a directional marker *-atu* indicating both direction towards the addressee, and direction towards a deictic centre in either the past or future, has been suffixed to the directional verbs after the form has been reduced by loss of the final vowels.<sup>3</sup>

8.4.1 MOTION AWAY (FROM DEICTIC CENTRE)  $\emptyset$ 

The unmarked directionals are simple to define; these forms (that is *vano*, *hivo* and *hage*) specify movement away from the speaker, or the deictic centre. But, they are also the forms used to refer to non-deictic movement, that is motion which is not related to the location of the speech act. Thus in (1), the first instance of the directional verb *hage* refers to motion away from the deictic centre, the place where the speakers are at the time of the speech act. In the second instance of this verb, the reference is to motion by a group of people from a place which has already been specified. The direction of motion from this point to the end point of the action is also *hage*, comparable with the direction from the position of the speech participants.

- 1)      **Gide**    **sao**    **da=ni**            **hage**    **Maewo, gide**    **tahingaha**    **Lolovoli,**  
          1NSG.IN many 1NSG.IN=IRR go.up Maewo 1NSG.IN LOC-this Lolovoli  
**me i**    **ngire la-lavasigi**    **tau**    **Longana ra=ni**            **hage**    **vage.**  
          COM PERS 3NSG REDUP-some DEN Longana 3NSG=IRR go.up too  
*Lots of us will be going (up) to Maewo; us here at Lolovoli, and some of them  
 from Longana will go too.*

<sup>2</sup> Note that the *-mai* suffix only occurs on these directional verbs, and is not a productive suffix in Ambae. However, in certain dialects *mai* can occur as the verb 'come', unmarked for height relative to the speech act. This form also occurs as a type of baby talk in interacting with young children.

<sup>3</sup> Note that this is a reflex of the PEO postverbal directional particle *\*[w]atu* which has been defined as meaning simply 'away, hence' (Pawley 1972). The putative form reconstructed for POC is *\*[w,u]atu* (Ross 1988).



The important difference between the unmarked forms and the *-mai* and *-atu* forms is that whereas these more complex forms focus on a specific destination for the motion, a destination relative to the participants of the speech act is not incorporated into the meaning of the unmarked forms.

#### 8.4.2 MOTION TOWARDS DEICTIC CENTRE *-MAI*

As with the unmarked forms, the *-mai* forms can signify either motion towards the speaker or the deictic centre, or to a specified reference point. Thus in (2) the use of the directional verbs is purely deictic; *hage* describes motion up away from the place where the speaker is at the time of the speech act, and *himei* refers to return back down to this same point.

- 2)     **Ale**   **ne=hage**       **lo** **sitoa**, **ne=himei**               **siseri.**  
           CONJ 2NSGS=go.up   LOC store   2NSGS=go.down:to.sp   quickly  
           *OK, go up to the store and come back again quickly.*

In (3) however, the speaker is recounting a story, and the action did not take place at the same place as the speech act. The place which has been established as the centre of the action in the story, however, comes to be considered like the deictic centre, and motion away from this point is described with the unmarked forms, whereas motion towards this point is described using the *-mai* forms. This example also illustrates how the forms are used to describe motion towards the specified reference point even if this point is not reached. The subject went down to the sea, came back up to a point between there and the central place of the story, and then came all the way back up to this place.

- 3)     **Bana**   **nu**       **hivo**,   **tubui**   **mo**   **vai**   **no=mo**   **solo**   **i**  
           because 1SGS:TEL go.down woman REAL make 1SGS=REAL wash PERS  
           **netu-ne,**   **vunu**   **no=mo**   **hamai**   **no=mo**   **tau=e,**   **vunu**  
           child-3SGP then   1SGS=REAL go.up:to.sp 1SGS=REAL put=3SGO then  
           **no=mo**   **hamai.**  
           1SGS=REAL go.up:to.sp  
           *Because I went down, and the old woman made me wash her children, and then I came up and left them, and came up.*

Sentence (4) can be used to illustrate a further point about the use of the deictic forms which specify motion towards the deictic centre. In this utterance, the speaker was telling the addressee how he had travelled from his village down to the addressee's village in the night. However, the conversation took place not at the addressee's village, but at a point level with this place, some distance along the road. In fact, this sentence could also have been uttered at a point further below the end point of the action, or even slightly above, as the direction travelled in the motion described by the sentence is on the same course as the line from the start point of the action to the place of the speech act. If however the speech

participants were closer to the point of origin of the motion described, the *-atu* form must be used. Likewise, the *-atu* form would have to be used if the location of the speech act was a considerable distance beyond the location of the action described. The reasons for this will be clear after the description of the use of the *-atu* forms in §8.4.3.

- 4)      **Nu**        **himei**            **lolo bongi.**  
          1SGS:TEL go.down:to.sp in      night  
          *I came down in the night.*

#### 8.4.3 MOTION TOWARDS ADDRESSEE, PAST/FUTURE DEICTIC CENTRE *-ATU*

The use of the directional verbs suffixed with *-atu* is a little harder to define, and in fact it is not possible to describe a single function for this suffix. There are two distinct definitions of the *-atu* forms; 'motion towards the addressee' and 'motion towards a past or future deictic centre'.

Where the suffix is used to refer to motion towards the addressee, this can mean either within the context of the speech act, that is, to a visible place where the addressee is located at the time of the speech act, or to the place where the addressee was or will be located in the past or future. Thus in (5) the speaker and addressee are located in the same general area, the addressee slightly further uphill from the speaker, and by using the directional verb *hagatu*, the speaker means, 'I will come up to the place where you are now.' Note that only this form of the directional verb is acceptable in this context; if the unmarked verb *hage* were used, this would indicate movement away from both the speaker and the addressee. Furthermore, *hamai* would simply not be possible in this sentence (in this particular context), as this signals direction towards the speaker, and it is clearly not possible for the speaker to move towards him/herself.

- 5)      **Go=tu**        **beno,**    **na=ni**        **hagatu!**    **(\*hage/ \*hamai)**  
          2SGS=stay already 1SGS=IRR go.up:DIR (go.up go.up:to.sp)  
          *Just stay there, and I'll come up to you!*

While in (5) the movement specified is from the speaker's location to the precise spot where the addressee is located, the *-atu* forms can simply specify that the motion is in the addressee's general direction. An extreme example of this can be illustrated with an excerpt from a telephone conversation I had with an Ambae speaker situated in Port Vila, while I was in Canberra. She was telling me how a group of dancers from Ambae had gone to a festival being held in Solomon Islands. Australia and the Solomons, like all overseas countries are *hage* from Vanuatu (§8.5.5), but rather than using the unmarked form *hage* to describe their travel from Vila to Honiara, she used the *-atu* form (6), despite the fact that Canberra is twice as far from Vila than Honiara is, and in the opposite direction. This can be explained by the fact that as Australia, like the Solomons, is a foreign country, their travel was to the general area outside Vanuatu, which therefore includes the place where I (the addressee) was located.

- 6) **Ra=mo hagatu Solomons.**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.up:DIR Solomon.Islands  
*They have come up to the Solomons.*

Whereas (5) and (6) describe situations in which the subject is moving towards the place where the addressee is located at the time of the speech act, the action can also refer to movement to a place where the addressee will be located in the past or future. Thus in (7) the speaker and addressee are located in the same place at the time of the speech act, and the sentence describes an action where the addressee will move to another place. The speaker is then stating that s/he will move to this same place after the addressee.

- 7) **Go=vano tomue, na=ni vanatu a-tagu.**  
 2SGS=go first 1SGS=IRR go:DIR LOC-behind  
*You go first, I'll come after.*

Sentence (8) also means that the subject will move to the place where the addressee will be when the action described occurs. However, rather than referring to movement towards the place where the addressee is going now, it could be referring to an action taking place at any time in the future. Further, often in a sentence such as this, particularly when no location is mentioned, the location is understood to be the place of residence of the addressee. The reason for this inference is that the speaker is saying that s/he will go to the place where the addressee would be expected to be at this time, in other words, commonly the place where s/he lives.

- 8) **Na=ni hagatu, da=ri toga bulu.**  
 1SGS=IRR go.up:DIR 1NSG.NS=DL:IRR live together  
*I'll come up and we can live together.*

To further illustrate this point, if a group of people were telling me about their journey to Vila, then (9) would be an appropriate statement only if I was not present in Vila at the time that they went. If, in actual fact, I was already in Vila when they arrived, then the *-atu* form must be used, otherwise I may be likely to respond, 'But I was there too!'.

- 9) **Ga=u hage Vila lo Noveba huri na Ats Vestivol.**  
 1NSG.EXS=TEL go.up Vila LOC November PURP ACC arts festival  
*We went to Vila in November for the Arts Festival.*

In (10) there are two instances of the verb *hagatu*, and this is an interesting example which demonstrates the two contrasting meanings of the suffix, where the first use refers to movement by the addressees towards the speakers' place at the time when the action will take place in the future, and the second use describes the motion of the speakers towards the place where the addressees will be, their place of residence. Note that the unmarked form *hage* would not be acceptable in the response as it would simply indicate motion away from the location of the speech act, and to a place other than where the addressee will be at the time of the action of the verb.

- 10)    **Ne=ri**            **hagatu**        **mavugo.**  
          2NSGS=DL:IRR go.up:DIR tomorrow  
       **Garea ga=ri**            **hagatu**        **(\*hage).**  
          good 1NSG.EXS=DL:IRR go.up:DIR go.up  
          *You two come up tomorrow. OK, we'll come up.*

Contrast (10) with (11), in which both uses of the verb *hage* specify movement away from where the speech participants were when the sentence was uttered (although it could also have referred to motion away from a specified reference point).

- 11)    **Ne=ri**            **hage**        **mavugo.**    **Garea, ga=ri**            **hage.**  
          2NSGS=DL:IRR go.up tomorrow good 1NSG.EXS=DL:IRR go.up  
          *You two go up tomorrow. OK, we'll go up.*

The previous examples have all illustrated motion to the future deictic centre, but note that the use of these forms can describe motion to the place which is the deictic centre at any time other than that of the current speech act, therefore, in either the future or the past.

In such examples, the current position of the speech participants is not relevant; the specification of direction of movement relates to action in either the past or the future relative to the stated reference point, that is, the position of the participants at the time of the event. Thus in (12), the speaker and the addressee are on Ambae, but the speaker is describing an occasion when she was in Vila, dancing at a festival. A group of people from Maewo were also at the festival, and the utterance describes how they moved down to the dancing ground where the people from Ambae were, and joined them in the dancing.

- 12)    **Ngire tau Maewo ra=mo**        **hivatu**            **ra=mo**        **bulu**  
          3NSG DEN Maewo 3NSGS=REAL go.down:DIR 3NSGS=REAL join  
          **gamai.**  
          1NSG.EXS  
          *Those from Maewo came down and joined us.*

(LV)

Sentence (13) is an expression which is commonly uttered if someone you are with stops in front of you when walking along a path, and you want them to hurry along. You then direct the person to move forward using a motion verb in the *-atu* form. Therefore, despite the fact that the speaker wishes to direct the subject away from the current deictic centre, the position where both the speaker and the addressee are currently located, the *-atu* form emphasises the fact that they are both moving towards a place which will subsequently be the deictic centre. Thus although this situation is one where an unmarked form could be used, the *-atu* form with its meaning in this context 'towards the future deictic centre' adds a different focus to the action, signalling that the speaker wants the addressee to move

forwards as this is the place where the speaker also wants to be. If a simple unmarked form were to be used in this context, it would not be entirely clear whether or not the speaker was intending to follow the addressee, and in fact it would usually indicate that s/he would not.

- 13) **Go=hagatu!**  
 2SGS=go.up:DIR  
*You go up (first)! (ie lead)*

#### 8.4.4 COMPARISON OF DEICTIC OPPOSITIONS

In order to ensure that the difference in use of the three contrastive sets of forms is clear, I take an example where all three forms are possible in the same frame, to illustrate the different meanings which would then be understood. (14) describes a situation where a group of people travelled down to a place where a feast for a dead person was being held. If the verb used in this example is the unmarked *hivo*, then this implies that the feast was held at a place which is located further down from the place where the speech participants are at the time of the speech act, and/or down from the place that the people came from. It is also understood that neither the speaker nor the addressee were at the feast at the time when all the people came, and nor is it their place of usual residence. It is, however, possible that either of the speech participants also went to the event, although they would have gone either at the same time or after the people referred to. Alternatively, the context which relates to the sentence if *himei* is the verb used, is one in which either the event took place at the same place as the speech act, or at a different place, but one which is at a similar level to the place where the speakers are now. In either of these cases the place would be situated down relative to the place where the actors in the event came from. Lastly, there are a few possibilities for the context which could surround the sentence if the form used was *hivatu*. The event would have taken place at a location other than one which is at the centre of the speech act, and it would have been a place where either the speaker, the addressee or both were at the time of the event. Typically it would mean that it was one or the other's place of residence, but it could also mean simply that they were also present at the event, and were there before all the other people came, as for example if they had been helping to prepare for the event. This demonstrates an interesting contrast; if either of the speech participants attended the event, then either *hivo* or *hivatu* could be used, but if *hivo* was used then it would imply that they, like the other people, were also going to the event, whereas if *hivatu* were used then the implication is that they were already present at the location when the other people arrived.

- 14) **Sinobu**      **ra=u**      **hivo/**      **himei/**      **hivatu**      **lo**  
 many.people 3NSGS=TEL go.down go.down:to.sp go.down:DIR LOC  
**bongi**  
 death.feast

*Lots of people went down to the feast for the dead person.*

## 8.5 SPECIFICATION OF VERTICAL/LANDWARD-SEAWARD AXIS

Moving now to the specification of the absolute system, one can see from Table 8.2, that the situation is much more complicated than simply specifying motion uphill vs downhill vs along on a level plane. In different contexts, different oppositions are relevant.

<i>vano</i>	<i>hage</i>	<i>hivo</i>
across	up	down
parallel to land	up (in air)	down (to ground or in sea)
parallel to shore (on land)	inland	seaward
parallel to shore (at sea)	landward	out to sea
E or W (other side of is.)	NE (along coastline)	SW (along coastline)
Malakula (NE-SW axis)	S or E (upwind)	N or W (downwind)
	all other countries	
to side (internal)	in front (internal)	behind (internal)

Table 8.2 Specification of the vertical/landward-seaward axis

## 8.5.1 VERTICAL AXIS: ACROSS/UP/DOWN

Ambae is a mountainous volcanic island, with very few flat areas, and thus a location can generally be specified with respect to another location in terms of its relative height. Movement from a village up away from the sea to a village some distance downhill, must be specified as *hivo* 'motion down from the deictic centre'. It is not acceptable to refer to this motion as simply *vano* 'motion along'. That is, it is not correct to assume that *vano* is an unmarked form, referring to motion in a nonspecified direction, and that there would be a choice, as in English, between saying, for example, either 'go down to the sea' (*hivo*), or simply 'go to the sea' (*vano*). As the ungrammatical sentence (15) suggests, it is not possible to use the verb *vano* to refer to motion towards the sea. Rather, if in any given context it is appropriate to specify motion up or down, then this direction must be specified, no matter how slight the incline. In an example such as (16), where the house is only a matter of metres away from the participants of the speech act, because it is slightly uphill from their position, movement to this location must be referred to using the directional verb *hage*, specifying 'motion up from the deictic centre'. The distinction of relative height will thus always be made for any direction of movement or location, regardless of the distance involved; the specification of height is relevant in every context.

- 15) \*Da=vano lo tahi!  
 1 NSG.INS=go LOC sea  
*Let's go to the sea!*

- 16) **Go=hage lo vale, go=maturu.**  
 2SGS=go.up LOC house 2SGS=sleep  
*Go up to the house and sleep.*

Considering the topology of the environment on Ambae, the forms specified for direction level to the deictic centre are actually the ones less commonly used. An example of a situation where *vano* is used would be in (17) where motion crossing to the opposite side of the creek is described, and this involves a movement which is neither up nor down.

- 17) **Ga=u vano tavalu wai.**  
 1NSG.EXS=TEL go side creek  
*We went to the other side of the creek.*

While *vano* is the form marked for direction across or level, it is also in fact the form which is used when direction is not known. Thus it is used when asking where someone has gone to (18) or come from (19).

- 18) **Bui u ya<sup>4</sup> logo?**  
 Mum TEL go where  
*Where has Mum gone?*

- 19) **Ne=vanai logo?**  
 2NSGS=go.to.sp where  
*Where have you (all) come from?*

As may be expected, these forms can also be used to express motion up and down on the vertical plane as opposed to motion along on the surface. Thus in (20) a movement to a place up on top of something is expressed using *hage*, as is motion up in the air above the ground (21). Likewise, *hivo* refers not only to movement from a place up high down to the ground (22), but also motion descending into the sea (23).

- 20) **Mo kalo mo hage lo hune-l vale.**  
 REAL climb REAL go.up LOC roof-CONST house  
*She climbed onto the roof of the house.*

- 21) **Da=mo olo da=mo hage lo ulu-l dodo.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL fly 1NSG.INS=REAL go.up LOC above-CONST cloud  
*We flew up above the clouds.*

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<sup>4</sup> Note that this reduced form of *vano*, *va* is that which regularly occurs in interrogative clauses.



- 22) **Go=hivo** vine!  
 2SGS=go.down down  
*Get down! (e.g. out of a tree)*

- 23) **Gu hivo gu sarovo?**  
 2SGS:TEL go.down 2SGS:TEL arrive  
**Hate, u bue lawagi.**  
 no TEL deep very  
*When you went down did you reach (the bottom)? No, it was too deep.*

### 8.5.2 INLAND/SEAWARDS

Considering that land rises up from the sea, it is not surprising that locations which are inland are considered to be ‘up’ from the deictic centre, and locations which are towards the sea are ‘down’.

- 24) **Mo=vo na=hivo na=ga-garu lolo tahi.**  
 REAL=say 3SGS=go.down 3SGS=REDUP-swim in sea  
*He wanted to go down and swim in the sea.*

(JG003)

- 25) **Da=hivo lo tahi da=si-siu!**  
 1NSG.INS=go.down LOC sea 1NSG.INS=REDUP-fish  
**Hate, da=ni mas hage aute huri na qeta.**  
 no 1NSG.INS=IRR must go.up up.in.bush PURP ACC taro  
*Let's go down to the sea and fish!*  
*No, we must go up to (the gardens in) the bush to get some taro.*

While motion away from the sea is associated with *hage* and towards the sea with *hivo*, movement along the coastline is associated with *vano* (26).

- 26) **Ra=ni vano ra=ni huri lo-lo one.**  
 3NSGS=IRR go 3NSGS=IRR follow REDUP-LOC beach  
*They will go along the beach.*

In most situations on Ambae, downhill and towards the sea will be the same direction, and thus it may not be possible to state in a given context what direction specifically *hivo* is referring to, as the direction is one and the same. There are also very few flat places on Ambae, so it is difficult to test whether or not there really is an opposition relating to direction with respect to the sea, or if in fact this is coincidental. However, when one walks with an Ambae speaker through the few streets of Luganville, which is a small town on the



coast of Santo island, we can see the opposition of inland versus seawards clearly demonstrated. The central part of town is flat, and turning through the streets one must go *hage* 'up' a street if it is away from the sea, *hivo* 'down' towards the sea, and *vano* 'across' if it is parallel to the shore. Likewise, a group of people playing football on a level playing field will say, "pass the ball here", using *hamai* or *himei*, meaning in an inland or seaward direction towards the speaker. As the area is flat, obviously a distinction on the vertical axis is not relevant, but the speakers are aware of the position of the sea and use this as a reference point.

### 8.5.3 TOWARDS SHORE/OUT TO SEA

The specification of direction with respect to the sea is extended to describing movement between the land and sea, such that when at sea movement towards the land is equated with movement inland or upwards and is thus *hage*, whereas movement further out to sea is equated with movement towards the sea and a downwards motion, and is thus described as *hivo*. Therefore, if one is on a ship in the harbour and another ship is heading towards your ship from further out to sea, then you would say, *Sip mo hamai* 'The ship is coming (up)'. Likewise if you were standing on the shore and the ship was coming in, the same statement would apply. So when a boat travels into the harbour, it travels *hage* (27), as does the wind blowing ashore from out at sea (28). If, however, a ship was coming towards the ship which you were on from a position closer to the shore, then you must say, *Sip mo himei* 'The ship is coming (down)'. This direction of motion is illustrated by (29), which describes swimming further away from the land, out to sea.

- 27) ...ra=mo **hage** vovohoi lolo halea...  
 3NSGS=REAL go.up straight in harbour...  
*...they would go straight into the harbour...*

(AA003)

- 28) Dueliu mo **hamai** lolo gowana Pentecost Maewo.  
 wind REAL go.up:to.sp in open.sea Pentecost Maewo  
*The 'dueliu' wind comes up from the open sea between Pentecost and Maewo.*

(JMW)

- 29) Vo go=ni geru go=ni **hivo** vagahao, tahi vi=ni  
 if 2SGS=IRR swim 2SGS=IRR go.down far sea 3SG.IRRS=IRR  
**weli=go** vi=ni **hivo** me=go vagahao.  
 take=2SGO 3SG.IRRS=IRR go.down COM=2SGO far

*If you swim out a long way, the sea will take you and carry you out a long way.*

Movement on the sea, parallel to the coastline, as on the shore, is *vano*. Further, if one is on a ship in the middle of the sea and the land cannot be seen, and the speaker is not aware of the ship's position with respect to land, then motion in any direction is described as *vano*.

- 30) Da=ni            hage   samwegi   varea,   da=vano       lo   mata-i  
 INSG.INS=IRR   go.up   be.unable   outside   INSG.INS=go   LOC   eye-CONST  
 Wai   Rigi.  
 creek Rigi  
*We won't be able to get (up) out (of the water), let's go along to the mouth of Rigi Creek.*

#### 8.5.4 MOVEMENT TO OTHER PARTS OF AMBAE

When travelling around Ambae, there are a number of factors which must be considered when specifying direction of movement. When travelling to a place which is close by, one will consider its position relative to the sea, or its position up or downhill in relation to the centre of reference. When travelling greater distances however, how does one refer to places when the difference in relative height is not significant? And what if both places are on the coast? The same deictic forms are still used, so what factors determine which directions the terms specify? If one is travelling to somewhere a considerable distance away, the direction either relative to the sea or in terms of physical height may not be either immediately obvious or particularly significant, but these are the factors which are considered first. Thus if one is travelling from a village some distance from the coast, to a village by the sea, then this movement will always be *hivo*, regardless of the direction being travelled in, and whether it is 200m or 20km away. Likewise, if one travels to a place further up the volcano, then this must be *hage*. It is only when one travels to places which are a considerable distance away, or on a similar level, that different comparisons need to be made, and then a choice is made based on two factors. Firstly, a clear division can be noted between the two 'sides' of the island (see Map 9). This distinction can be seen to be due to the shape of the island, with its two long sides, but more significantly, the north-western side of the island is the lee side, and the south-eastern side is the weather side, the trade winds coming from the south-east. Travel from one 'side' of the island to the other is always reported as *vano*, as this can be equated with movement 'across' the island (31).

- 31) Langi mo   vanai   lo   westen pat.  
 wind REAL   go.to.sp   LOC   western part  
*The wind comes from the west. (Stated at Lolovoli in the south-east.)*

(MHM)



When one is moving ‘up’ and ‘down’ the coast however, there is a division made on the axis dividing north-west and south-east, such that anywhere following the north-eastern line of the island is considered to be ‘up’ and movement in a south-west direction is ‘down’. To illustrate this with examples from a few different areas of the island, take Lolovoli on the eastern side of the island. Lolovoli is only a few hundred metres from the coast, but nevertheless it is up quite a steep hill from the sea, and as most villages are closer to the sea, then movement to most places is *hivo*, irrespective of the direction travelled in. Thus Lolowai and Saratamata to the north-east, Lolosiwoi to the south-west, and Walaha to the south-west on the other side of the island, are all *hivo*. The only places which are *hage* from Lolovoli are those places which are located physically higher up the mountain, such as the village of Ambanga to the north-west, and Lake Manaro, a crater lake in the volcano. Nduindui, located on the other side of the island is *vano* from Lolovoli (32), as is the Longana district, because it is quite close to Lolovoli, at the same level. These variations have made it difficult to determine what the exact system is for specification of direction within Ambae.

- 32) ...**tahl-ngaha lo duvl tano-da tahl-ngaha da=ni veve**  
 LOC-this LOC end land-1NSG.INP LOC-this 1NSG.INS=IRR say  
**da=ni vano lo tavalu-gi Nduindui...**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR go LOC side-AL Nduindui  
*...here at the end of our land here, if we want to go to Nduindui on the other side...*

(AA024)

When starting from a place on the coast however, it is easier to determine what factors come into play. To take an example from Nduindui, a village on the west coast within the Nduindui district (33), we see the importance of absolute direction addressed.

- 33) “**Niko ngaha go=ni toga bibi tahl-ngaha Nduindul, ale niko**  
 2SG this 2SGS=IRR live tight LOC-this Nduindui CONJ 2SG  
**ngaha go=ni hage Vuinikalato, ale niko ngaha go=ni hage**  
 this 2SGS=IRR go.up Vuinikalato CONJ 2SG this 2SG=IRR go.up  
**Walurigi, niko ngaha go=ni hage Lombaha, ale niko ngaha**  
 Walurigi 2SG this 2SGS=IRR go.up Lombaha CONJ 2SG this  
**go=ni vano Longana, niko ngaha go=ni vano lo tavalu-gi,**  
 2SGS=IRR go Longana 2SG this 2SGS=IRR go LOC side-AL  
**ra=vo, Lovuinimatui.”**  
 3NSGS=say Lovuinimatui

*“You are going to stay here at Nduindui, and you are going to go up to Vuinikalato, and you are going to go up to Walurigi, and you are going to go up to Lombaha, and you are going to go across to Longana, and you are going to go across to the other side, which they call Lovuinimatui (district which covers current district of Lolovoli and south of Lolovoli).”*

(RV006)

As the district of Lombaha is also inland from Nduindui village this may be the reason that it is *hage*, and Vuinikalato, while on the coast, is perched on top of cliffs. However, Walurigi is a relatively flat place by the sea, and the only reason why this could be considered *hage* from Nduindui is because it is to the north-east. Thus we begin to see distinctions made on a basis other than relative height, and position in relation to the coast, as such contrasts are no longer valid.

To sum up the factors that are involved in determining which deictic will be used for travel within Ambae, in particular to more distant places, the various contrasts are addressed in the order listed below. In assessing the situation, one asks the following questions:

- is the place up, down or level from here?
- is the place towards the sea, inland or parallel to the coast?
- is the place on the opposite side of island (to the east or west)?
- is the place to the NE or SW?

In each case, if the opposition is not relevant to the particular situation, then the more secondary factors are addressed. Relative height is always the most important factor, and only if no clear decision can be made on the basis of height, or position relative to sea, will a decision be made in terms of absolute direction. While there is a distinction made based on the north-west/south-east axis, a decision is made according to this factor only after all other factors have been taken into account.

### 8.5.5 MOVEMENT TO OTHER ISLANDS

The distinctions made when travelling beyond Ambae to other islands in Vanuatu, and further afield to other countries, are more straightforward than the situation which occurs when describing movement within the island of Ambae, although an interesting difference can be observed. Naturally, divisions of height, and position relative to the sea and land are no longer relevant when moving across the sea to other islands, but nevertheless, the same deictic forms are used. Rather than relating to a contrast in height relative to the deictic centre, there is a division made on the north-east/south-west axis, and all islands to the south and east are considered to be *hage* 'up' whereas those to the north and west are *hivo* 'down' (see Map 10). Remember that the absolute distinction made when describing motion within the island was between those places to the south-west, as compared with places to the north-east. Note that the distinction made for travel between islands is on a different axis, with islands to the south and east distinguished from those in the north and west.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> While this would seem to be a curious variation in the division of absolute direction, this same difference has also been observed in Tukang Besi, a Western Austronesian language of Sulawesi, Indonesia (Donohue 1995).



- 34) ...ra=u        walau-gi na    aka-ra        ra=mo        hage    Maevo,  
 3NSGS=TEL run-APPL ACC canoe-3NSGP 3NSGS=REAL go.up Maewo  
 sege ra=mo        hage    Pentecost, sege ra=mo        hivo        Santo.  
 or 3NSGS=REAL go.up Pentecost or 3NSGS=REAL go.down Santo  
*...they took their canoes and went up to Maewo, or up to Pentecost, or down to Santo.*

(AA002)

- 35) ...vataha na    vanue, mwere mo    tavuigi Anaetium mo    hivo  
 every ACC island like REAL start Aneityum REAL go.down  
 mo    dadari Bakis...  
 REAL reach Banks  
*...every island, starting from Aneityum and going down as far as the Banks...*

(RG005)

While we can conveniently describe this spatial division in terms of the familiarly recognised cardinal direction points, obviously this is not how the distinction developed. It would seem plausible that the reason for this division is related to the shape of the island, and the direction of the winds. The people of Ambae were originally very much a seafaring people, and the south-east side of the island is the weather side, the trade winds coming from this direction. Wind direction is very significant for people of the sea, and it is easy to see how a division could develop distinguishing the direction from which the wind blows, with the direction followed when travelling into the wind. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that as people would travel away from the island into the wind, then this direction could be equated with going up, as up is often equated with what is in front or forwards, and down is commonly thought of as being behind. Suffice it to say that this is only speculation, and we can simply describe the directional terms which are used for referring to travel between islands as they are in use today. To speculate further, however, it may also be possible that the reason that the south-east direction is equated with 'up' is that this was the direction which people originally travelled when spreading into the Pacific, and as I have suggested, this movement to new places was considered to be going 'up', whereas what was behind and known, the places where the people had come from were 'down'.<sup>6</sup> This suggests a reason for the difference between the axis which operates on the island, and that which operates between islands, and clearly, while we may discuss the axes in terms of cardinal points, on the island the axis is based on the coastline which runs south-west to north-east, and when travelling across the sea, it would appear that the axis is based on the prevailing winds.

Considering the axis which divides islands in the south-east from those in the north-west, there is only one island which lies exactly on this axis, and that is Malakula to the south-

<sup>6</sup> Horridge (1995) discusses the argument that the early Austronesian explorers discovered new land by sailing 'upwind' in a (south-)easterly direction.

west. This is further confirmation of the division, as Malakula is the only island to which one travels in a *vano* direction. However if the part of the island is specified, one travels *hage* to those places in the south-east of Malakula, and *hivo* to places in the north-west.

- 36) ...**gide** **tahi-ngaha** **da=veve** **vo** **da=vano** **Malakula...**  
 1NSG.IN LOC-here 1NSG.IN=tell say 1NSG.IN=go Malakula  
*...us here say that we want to go to Malakula...*

(AA023)

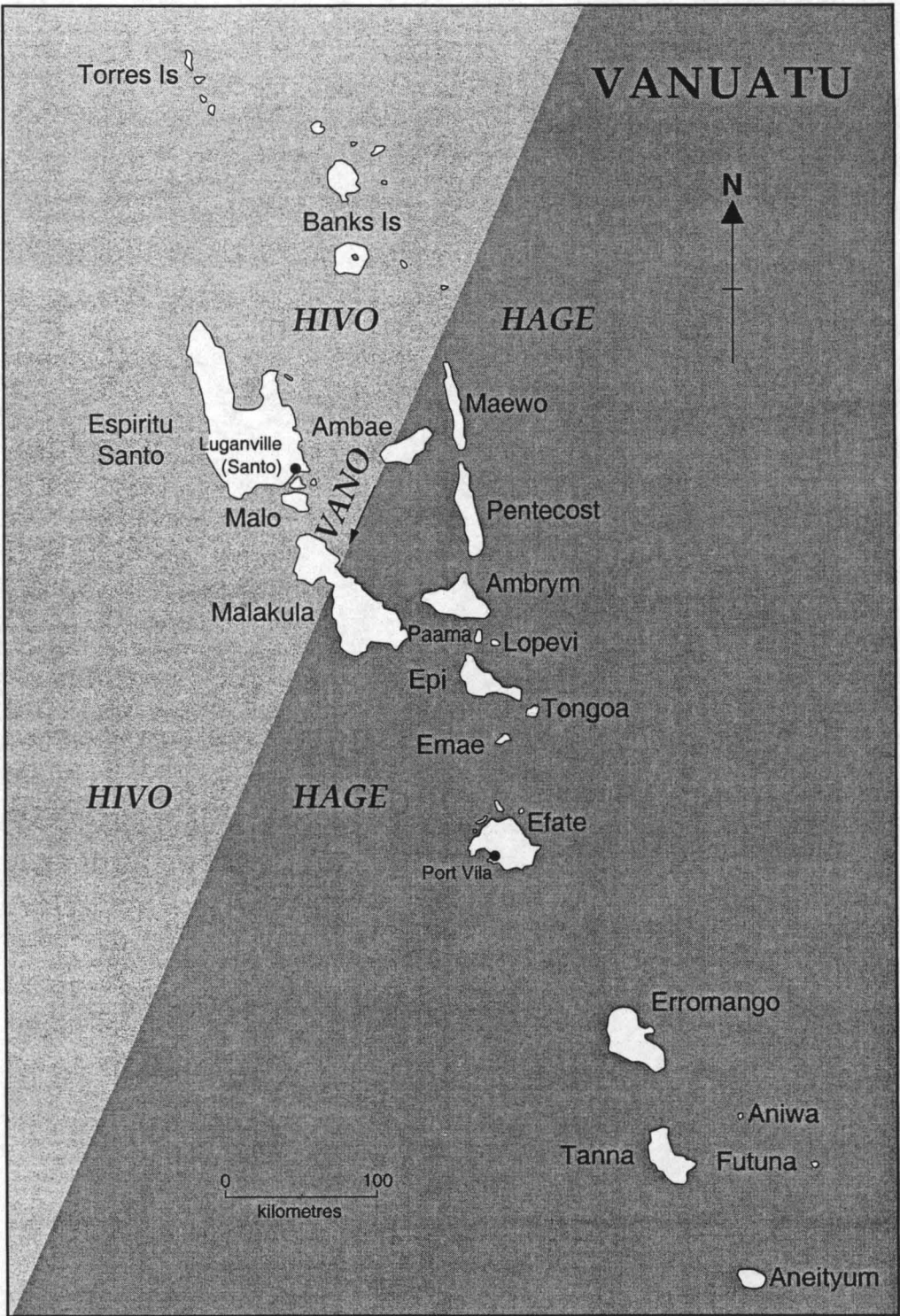
There is no directional division related to movement to other countries, they are all referred to as *hage* 'up' from Vanuatu, irrespective of the direction in which they lie. Australia to the west, Fiji to the east, and Solomon Islands to the north are all *hage*. The reasons for this can only be guessed at, but as suggested above, perhaps movement to the unknown is equated with moving forwards, and thus going 'up'.

- 37) **Go=ni** **hage** **Ostrelia/** **Fiji/** **Solomons?**  
 2SGS=IRR go.up Australia Fiji Solomon Islands  
*Are you going to go to Australia/Fiji/Solomon Islands?*

#### 8.5.6 INTERNAL MOVEMENT: FRONT/BACK/SIDE

Lastly, looking at movement within an enclosed space such as in a house or on a ship, the same directional verbs are still employed, but there are two different systems operating. In a building such as a church, the place of focus where the pulpit is located is the front, as is the bow of a ship, which is the part which is heading forwards. Movement to the front is equated with *hage* 'up', towards the back is *hivo* 'down' and to the side is *vano* 'across'. Thus sentence (38) was uttered in a church, with a young boy being told by a woman to go and sit on the other side of the aisle with the men, and (39) refers to 'going down' to the stern of the ship. However, some buildings cannot be said to have a definite front and back (at least internally; in Ambae the single door of a house is always located at the 'front'), and basically, inside houses, where the floor is flat, people relate the position of objects within the room according to the lay of land outside. So if a house is positioned on a hill, and someone wishes to state the location of an object which is in a position which would equate with the uphill side of the house outside, then this is *hage* 'up'.

- 38) **Go=vano** **go=toga** **me-na** **mwera** **ngire.**  
 2SGS=go 2SGS=sit COM-ACC man 3NSG  
*Go and sit with the men.*
- 39) **No=mo** **rau** **hivo** **lo** **boro-gi** **bana** **tangaloi** **ngire**  
 1SGS=REAL not.want go.down LOC stern-AL because people 3NSG  
**ra=mo** **lue.**  
 3NSGS=REAL vomit  
*I don't want to go down to the stern because the people (down there) are vomiting.*



Map 10: Directionals used for movement to other islands within Vanuatu



## 8.6 METAPHORICAL EXTENSION

In a number of Austronesian languages that have a spatial reference system which is based on absolute distinctions relating to an uphill/downhill and landward/seaward contrast, there is a further extension of this distinction which relates to places of 'higher' importance (note the same metaphor exists in English) being considered to be 'up', no matter where the place is physically located. Thus speaking of New Caledonian languages, Ozanne-Rivierre notes, "the 'up/down' contrast is not limited to spatial reference in the strict sense. It can also be applied to social relationships and mentalities associated with the hierarchical distinctions which characterize Melanesian societies" (Ozanne-Rivierre 1997:90). She offers us an example where motion 'up' can mean motion to the place of a person of higher rank than oneself, regardless of the physical location of that place. In the *Tukang Besi* language of Sulawesi, Indonesia (Donohue 1995), the direction which specifies a physical location 'up' or 'landwards', also denotes motion to a 'referential centre', that is, a social, political or cultural centre. Other languages in which use of the spatial reference system is extended in this way are *Buli*, also of Indonesia (Bubandt 1997), and *Kwaio*, Solomon Islands (Keesing 1997).

In *Ambae* this distinction of moving 'up' to places of social or political significance is not made. When using the directionals to talk about location and direction of movement, the physical environment is always the determining factor. The provincial headquarters at *Saratamata*, and the commercial centre at *Lolowai* are both located downhill from *Lolovoli*, and closer to the sea, and travel to these places from *Lolovoli* must be in a *hivo* 'downward' direction. There is no notion that these politically and commercially important places are located 'higher' than other places. However, that is not to say that the directionals are only used to refer to motion and location of things in strictly physical terms. In *Ambae* there are several metaphorical uses of the directional verbs. One of the most significant ways of raising one's status in *Ambae* is by the ceremonial killing of pigs. This is not something which only men practice in order to achieve chiefly rank, but women and children are involved in pig killings as well. Whenever anyone is involved in a pig killing ceremony, they *hage* 'go up, increase status' as a result of their participation (40). The verbs *hage* and *hivo* can be used in more general contexts too, to refer to increase and decrease in status or importance.

- 40) ...ale mo vire,                      mo hage, mo vaga-rue, vaga-tolu,  
 CONJ REAL 'flower'.grade REAL go.up REAL CAUS-two CAUS-three  
 mo wehe na boe hangavulu domwagi gai-lime.  
 REAL kill ACC pig ten plus NUM-five  
*...so he takes the 'vire' rank of the grade taking ceremonies, and he increases his status, and he does it a second time, and a third time, and he kills fifteen pigs.*

(APK014)

When transitive verb forms are derived from these directionals (*hage* and *hivo*, but not *vano*), the verbs take on further, extended meanings. The derived transitive meanings are 'to raise' from *hage* 'to go up', and 'to lower' from *hivo* 'to go down'. Note, however, that the transitive verbs with these meanings are never used in their literal sense to refer to directed motion. These two verbs are only used metaphorically. Simple examples are found in sentences (41) and (42), referring to 'raising' and 'lowering' of prices.

- 41) **Ra=mo**     **hage-gi**     **na voli-voli**     **lague` lawagi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.up-APPL ACC REDUP-pay big too.much  
*They raised the bride price too much.* (96.9)

- 42) **Ra=mo**     **hivo-gi**     **na mane-i**     **lako-lako.**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.down-APPL ACC money-CONST REDUP-goods  
*They lowered the price of goods.* (96.9)

However, the more common and interesting metaphorical use of these terms is in referring to 'raising' or 'lowering' someone's status, importance or worthiness.

- 43) **Moffat mo lado**     **hage-gini=e.**  
 Moffat REAL think go.up-APPL=3SGO  
*Moffat thinks highly of himself.* (96.9)

- 44) **Go=ni**     **hivo=gi**     **niko, go=ni vora-gi**     **na retahigi.**  
 2SGS=IRR go.down-APPL 2SG 2SGS=IRR born-APPL ACC important.person  
*You will humble yourself and become an important person.* (96.9)

- 45) **Ngie mo**     **hivo-gi**     **tama-na.**  
 3SG REAL go.down-APPL father-3SGP  
*S/he dishonoured her/his father.*

## 8.7 VARIATION IN SYSTEM IN DIFFERENT WORD CLASSES

In the previous sections the absolute/deictic system of spatial reference has been described using the verbal forms to exemplify the meanings of the oppositions made on the deictic parameters. In the following section any variation in use across the different word classes will be described. The same basic forms occur as not only directional verbs, but also demonstratives, and absolute location nouns. However, there are some differences in both the forms and function within the different word classes.

## 8.7.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

There are two opposing demonstratives; *ngaha* 'this' and *ngihie* 'that', and in addition the directionals can be prefixed with the demonstrative formative, *gi-/ngi-*. There is no difference in the meaning of these two forms, and the choice of use is arbitrary. These demonstratives can occur either as pronominals (46), or modifying the head noun of a noun phrase (47).

- 46) **Ra=ni      weli=e      ngi-vano.**  
 3NSGS=IRR take=3SGO DEM-across  
*They'll take those ones over there.*

- 47) **Go=lehi   na   boe   ngi-hivo...**  
 2SGS=see ACC pig DEM-down  
*Look at that pig down there...*

As with the directional verbs, the same distinctions are still made with respect to location relative to the participants of the speech act with the unmarked and *-mai* forms, but the *-atu* forms do not occur as demonstratives. Thus in (48), the demonstrative indicates that the object (in this case a pig) is located level with the speaker and closer towards her/him than perhaps another item, whereas the unmarked forms, as in (47), indicate something which is located away from the speaker. A sentence such as (49) is not grammatical.

- 48) **Na=ni      bubu-si      ngl-vanai.**  
 1SGS=IRR shoot-APPL DEM-across:to.sp.  
*I'll shoot that one closer towards me.*
- 49) **\*Go=ni    weli   na   gineu   ngi-vanatu.**  
 2SGS=IRR take ACC thing DEM-across:DIR  
*If you come, bring that thing there near you.*

These demonstratives can be reduplicated to indicate that the location of the object is either a greater distance away (with the unmarked forms), or considerably closer to the speaker (in the case of the *-mai* forms). Sentence (50) is part of a set of instructions from the speaker, trying to indicate to the addressee where the specified object is located. When the addressee points to an object located up the hill from both the speaker and the addressee, the speaker responds with (50), stating that it is not the one the addressee was indicating, but one even further uphill than that. When a demonstrative in the *-mai* form is reduplicated, this indicates that the specified item is closer to the deictic centre, or specifically, to the speaker. In (51) the addressee is up in a tree picking mangoes, and the speaker instructs the addressee to pick the ones which are located down on the lower limbs, closer to the speaker, who is standing on the ground.

- 50) **Hate, ngi-hage-hage.**  
 no DEM-REDUP-up  
*No, that one further up there.*
- 51) **Go=bitu ngi-him-himei.**  
 2SGS=pick.fruit DEM-REDUP-down:to.sp  
*Pick that one down here closer to me.*

The demonstratives generally occur with the demonstrative formative *ngi-/gi-* irrespective of whether the demonstrative is in pronominal or modifying function. However, *ngaha* ‘this’ occurs in the unmarked form as a nominal modifier, and prefixed with *ngi-/gi-* it is used as a demonstrative pronoun.

- 52) **A gineu ngaha a gineu garea.**  
 NOM thing this NOM thing good  
*This thing is a good thing.*

(EK051)

- 53) **Na=ni teve ngi-ngaha..**  
 1SGS=IRR cut DEM-this  
*I will cut this one...*

(LW003)

### 8.7.2 ABSOLUTE LOCATION NOUNS

The directionals also occur, underived, as absolute location nouns, both unreduplicated (54), or, like the demonstratives, reduplicated to specify a greater distance (55). Absolute location nouns function as clausal adjuncts, at the periphery of the clause.

- 54) **No-ku tanga mo dule tau hivo.**  
 CL.GEN-1SGP bag REAL hang LOC down  
*My bag is hanging down there.*
- 55) **Vui-ni matui u soi tau hivo-hivo.**  
 trunk-CONST coconut TEL fall LOC REDUP-down  
*A coconut tree fell down way down there.*

When functioning as absolute location nouns, the directionals can also be suffixed with the distal suffix, *-lehe*, to indicate a location a greater distance away. This suffix is attached to the unmarked forms; it cannot cooccur with the *-mai* and *-atu* forms. This suffix can only attach to the directionals, not to forms in any other word class.

<i>valehe</i>	‘over there’
<i>hagelehe</i>	‘up there’
<i>hivolehe</i>	‘down there’

56) **Mo vanai va-lehe.**

REAL come across-DIST

*S/he came from (way) over there.*

(BTp.32)

These forms are used to refer to places a greater distance away than those specified by the simple locational nouns. They cannot be used, for example, to refer to a place that is close by and visible (57). In (58), even if this question was addressed to me out of context, it would be immediately obvious that the place being referred to was Australia, the place way up there (where I live). The unmarked form *hage* would not be possible in this context, but could be used to refer to living in a place located ‘up’ from the place of the speech situation, but within the island. This locational noun is regularly used to refer to both Australia (and, less regularly in my presence, other countries) and Vila, two distant places which will be immediately recognised from context, without mentioning the place name. When on other islands, people regularly refer to Ambae as simply *hagelehe* or *hivolehe*, without any ambiguity. Alternatively, in (59), the form *hivolehe* would not be possible unless the ball were to be thrown a great distance.

57) **Ne=mwoso-mwoso vano/ (\*va-lehe).**

2NSGS=REDUP-play across across-DIST

*Play over there.* (indicating a place not far away)58) **Go=mo toga hage-lehe (\*hage) go=mo gani qeta?**

2SGS=REAL live up-DIST up 2SGS=REAL eat taro

*When you live up there (i.e. Australia) do you eat taro?*59) **Go=tuli na moli tau hivo (?hivo-lehe).**

2SGS=throw ACC ball LOC down down-DIST

*Throw the ball down there.*

Compare (60) and (61) where the opposing forms demonstrate the difference between referring to places of greater and lesser distance from the deictic centre.

60) **Ga=mo himei hage-lehe.**

1NSG.EXS=REAL go.down:to.sp up-DIST

*We’ve come down from up there. (a long way)*

- 61)     **Ga=mo**                **himei**                **(tau) hage.**  
         INSG.EXS=REAL go.down:to.sp   LOC   up.there  
         *We've come down from up there. (not very far)*

8.7.2.1 OTHER ABSOLUTE LOCATION NOUNS

Apart from the directionals, there are other forms which are members of the class of absolute location nouns. Place names are all absolute location nouns (62), and there are two other subsets in this class. There are several forms which can be used to express the simple opposition between 'here' and 'there', these are shown in Table 8.3.

- 62)     **Ra=ru**                **mo**     **hage**     **Maevo**  
         3NSGS=DL   REAL go.up   Maewo  
         *The two of them went to Maewo.*

(EK077)

PROXIMAL	DISTAL
<i>aehe</i> 'here' (at this place, just referred to – anaphoric)	<i>taehe</i> 'there' (at that place, just referred to – anaphoric)
<i>tau</i> 'here' (immediate area surrounding speech participants)	<i>tahu</i> 'there'
<i>tahingaha</i> 'hereabouts' (wider area surrounding speech participants)	
<i>hano</i> 'hereabouts' (wider area surrounding speech participants)	

Table 8.3 Variation in meaning of 'here' and 'there' forms

As can be seen there are only two forms distinguished on the distal pole, one of these forms can only be used anaphorically, while the other can be used both anaphorically and to refer to the current context. On the proximal pole however, there are four different terms; *aehe* is the proximal counterpart of the anaphoric *taehe*, but the other three forms can all be used anaphorically and within the context of the speech act.

- 63)     **Ale**   **Vile**   **mo**   **maraga**   **mo**   **hivo**        **mo**   **toga**   **Lolovarivu,**   **mo**  
         CONJ Vile   REAL get.up   REAL go.down   REAL live   Lolovarivu   REAL  
         **mate**   **aehe**  
         die   here  
         *So then Vile went down and lived at Lolovarivu, and he died at this place.*

(LTD058)

- 64) ...ra=mo lehi na Manaro. Siu tangaloi sao ra-mo  
 3NSGS=REAL see ACC Manaro CONJ people many 3NSGS=REAL  
 hage ra=mo tu ra=mo maturu taehe.  
 go.up 3NSGS=REAL stay 3NSGS=REAL sleep there  
*...they see Manaro. So many people go up and stay and sleep there.*

(MHM)

The difference between the use of *tahingaha* and *hano* ‘here(abouts)’ appears to be purely dialectal. Both can be used in Lolovoli, but *hano* is not used as much, whereas it is used all the time in Longana and Lombaha. The difference between *tau* and *tahingaha* is, however, more significant. There are situations where the two forms are interchangeable, but there is a basic difference between *tau* being used to refer to places in the immediate area which surrounds the participants of the speech act, whereas *tahingaha* can relate to a much wider area. Thus the spot where the speaker was standing would be referred to as *tau*, whereas the speaker’s position, located within the world compared to the location of other places, would be described as *tahingaha*. To compare (65) and (66), the former would be used if the speaker wants to indicate to the addressee to sit down, in a spot close to her/him, whereas the latter is enquiring about the addressee’s location within a larger context. Likewise, in (67) the speaker is saying, ‘come here, to this place close to me’, whereas in (68), a wider area is being referred to, and the statement is being made that the person will come to the same area of the island.

- 65) Go=toga tau (?tahi-ngaha).  
 2SGS=sit here LOC-here  
*Sit here.*
- 66) Go=mo toga tahi-ngaha? (\*tau)  
 2SGS=REAL live LOC-here here  
*Do you live here? (e.g. in this village, on this island)*
- 67) Go=vanai tau.  
 2SGS=go:to.sp here  
*Come here.*
- 68) Ngie vi=ni vanai me-i gide tahi-ngaha.  
 3SG 3SG.IRRS=IRR go:to.sp COM-PERS 1NSG.IN LOC-here  
*He will come to be with us here.*

(FRT156)

The other set of absolute location nouns are used to indicate oppositions such as up high/down low, as seen in Table 8.4. Note that many of these forms have relational noun equivalents, as discussed below in §8.8.

<i>aulu</i>	‘up high, on top’
<i>vine</i>	‘down low’
<i>atagu</i>	‘behind, at the back’
<i>amue</i>	‘in front, at the front’
<i>aute</i>	‘up in the bush’
<i>alau</i>	‘down by the sea’
<i>varea</i>	‘outside’
<i>vagahao</i>	‘far away’

Table 8.4 Absolute location nouns

- 69)

Ra=mo

tau=e

atagu.

3NSGS=REAL

put=3SGO

behind

...they put it behind...

(EK106)
- 70)

..ra=mo

toga

aulu

lo

baka.

3NSGS=REAL

sit

up.high

LOC

banyan

...they were sitting up high in the banyan tree.

(JTT049)
- 71)

Tama-na

mo

toga

varea.

lo

mata-i

vale-ra.

father-3SGP

REAL

sit

outside

LOC

eye-CONST

house-3NSGP

His father sat outside at the doorway of their house.

(DM039)

Note the two forms *alau* and *aute*, which distinguish locations which are near the sea (72), from those inland (73). This distinction is one which is commonly made in Austronesian languages, whose speakers live on small islands, where there is an important distinction made between coastal and bush locations, in terms of where people live and what types of activities are performed in different places (see Senft 1997). Coastal peoples are more likely to rely on the sea as a source of food, whereas food gardens are more likely to be planted further inland from the settlement, ‘up in the bush’. In most areas of Ambae, people do not live directly adjacent to the sea, and the seashore tends to be only used as a supplementary source of food. People generally only use the word *alau* to speak of people who live closer to the sea than is the norm. *Aute* is commonly used, as people generally plant their crops uphill and inland from the villages, and when this form is used in a sentence such as (74), the addressee will know that the people have gone up in the bush to their gardens, although this is not explicitly stated.



- 72) **Gamai natu-i alau.**  
 1NSG.EX offspring-CONST down.by.sea  
*We are coastal people. (Lit. We are children of the place by the sea.)*
- 73) **Da=mo rivu qeta aute.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL plant taro up.in.bush  
*We plant taro up in the bush*
- 74) **Ra=u hage aute.**  
 3NSGS=TEL go.up up.in.bush  
*They've gone up in the bush (to their gardens).*

## 8.8 RELATIONAL LOCATION NOUNS

There are also a number of relational location nouns in the language, used for specifying positions such as front/back, above/below, and side. That is, positions which can be specified with respect to the inherent features of an object. The relationships are thus related to body part and other part-whole relationships, but whereas these relationships enable speakers to talk about parts of an item in relation to its whole, relational nouns enable speakers to talk about locations with reference to the object's inherent features or parts. If something can be thought of as having a front, a top or side, then we can focus on this feature of the object to speak of a location 'in front of', 'on top of', or 'inside'. An exhaustive list of these nouns can be found in Table 8.5.

As with nouns which specify part-whole relationships, relational nouns are bound nouns which must take part in a direct possessive construction, or suffixed with the alienable suffix *-gi*, which specifies that it is a bound noun, but the relationship is not being specified (§7.3).

<i>ulu-</i>	'above, top of'	<i>tavalu-</i>	'side'
<i>vava-</i>	'under, below'	<i>duvi-</i>	'end'
<i>nago-</i>	'front of'	<i>maho-</i>	'part'
<i>mue-</i>	'front of'	<i>mwarara-</i>	'side(line)'
<i>tagu-</i>	'behind, back of'	<i>livuge-</i>	'middle'
<i>lolo-</i>	'inside'	<i>neki-</i>	'side'
<i>mawiri-</i>	'left'	<i>bobo-</i>	'edge'
<i>matue-</i>	'right'	<i>vito-</i>	'edge'

Table 8.5 Relational location nouns

- 75) ...mo vano mo tau=e lo vava-i goari-i dadai.  
 REAL go REAL put=3SGO LOC under-CONST root-CONST blood.tree  
*...he went and put her underneath the roots of a blood tree.*

(EK031)

- 76) U vei gide=ru lo nago-i tangaloi sao.  
 TEL make 1NSG=DL LOC front-CONST people many  
*She humiliated<sup>7</sup> the two of us in front of many people.*

While there are terms for left and right in the language, these are generally only used to refer to position relative to a person's body, as in (77), and they, like all relational nouns, are only used intrinsically, never relatively. Thus while it is possible to talk about a person's left, it is not possible to talk about a location 'left of the tree', as trees don't have inherent sides, fronts, and backs (78). In order to speak of a location which in English we would be able to describe as 'to the left of the tree', or 'in front of the tree' (as in English such terms can be used both intrinsically and relatively), such a situation would be described as in (79), using the absolute/deictic system. An object of comparison is identified, and then the position of the object being located is pointed out relative to the position of the speech participants and the other specified reference point. So the object being pointed out could be closer to the location of the speech act or further away, in which case the *-mai* forms and unmarked forms would be used respectively. Further, the specified location could be further uphill, downhill, or across from the location of both the speech act and the other reference point.

- 77) Pauline mo toga lo mawiri-ku, Danuta mo toga lo matue-ku.  
 Pauline REAL sit LOC left-1SGP Danuta REAL sit LOC right-1SGP  
*Pauline is sitting to my left, and Danuta is sitting to my right.*

- 78) \*Go=tau=e lo mawiri-i gai.  
 2SGS=put=3SGO LOC left-CONST tree  
*Put it on the left side of the tree.*

- 79) Hava gineu ngihie, lobe na baego van-vanai?  
 what thing that near ACC breadfruit REDUP-over.here  
*What is that thing near the breadfruit tree, on this side closer to us?*

Whereas absolute location nouns are regularly used to refer to both small scale (80) and large scale space (81), relational nouns are generally only used to refer to small scale space, as the objects of comparison are generally objects which are located in the immediate space

7 The verb *vai*, generally meaning 'to do, make' has many extended meanings, one of which is for the subject to do something which has a negative effect on the object referent(s).

(82 and 83). There are however rare examples where the object of comparison enables the expression to refer to large scale space (84 and 85).

- 80) **Go=tu-tu            hage.**  
 2SGS=REDUP-stay up  
*Move up a bit.* (spoken to someone sitting next to the speaker on a bench)
- 81) **Mo    hage    ulu,    lolo    mahava.**  
 REAL go.up up.high in    sky  
*It went up high into the sky.*
- 82) **Mo    eno   lo    vava-i            rau-gi.**  
 REAL lie    LOC under-CONST leaf-AL  
*It is/was (lying) underneath the leaf.*
- 83) **Go=mese            labe    lo    nago-na.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR    stand    LOC front-3SGP  
*Don't stand in front of her/him.*
- 84) **Dodo    maeto    lo    ulu-de.**  
 cloud black    LOC above-1NSG.INP  
*There were black clouds above us.*
- 85) **...aka-i            Tagaro mo    toga   lo    duvi-i            tehi.**  
 canoe-CONST Tagaro REAL sit    LOC end-CONST sea  
*Tagaro's canoe was sitting on the other end of the sea (i.e. far out to sea).*

Relational nouns can be used in combination with the directionals for greater specificity.

- 86) **Da=ni            hike-si=e            lo    tagu-i            vale    hage-hage.**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR    search-APPL=3SGO    LOC behind-CONST house    REDUP-up  
*We will look for it up behind the house.*
- 87) **Ge!    Lo    vava-i            bata    him-himei.**  
 there!    LOC under-CONST table    REDUP-down:to.sp  
*Look there! Underneath the table, closer down towards me.*

# 9

## Verb phrase

### 9.1 INTRODUCTION

The minimal verb phrase (VP) in Ambae consists of the head and a proclitic subject marker which specifies person and number of the subject. The subject proclitic is the first element in the VP, and attaches either to the head or to a preverbal particle. The object argument is realised within the VP either as an NP following the verb, or as an enclitic attached to the verb or a postverbal adverb. The order of verb phrase constituents is addressed first, followed by a discussion of the forms which can function as the head of a VP. The subject and object clitics, and the pre- and postverbal particles are then discussed in turn.

### 9.2 ORDER OF VERB PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

$$VP \rightarrow S = ru \left\{ \begin{array}{l} mo \\ ni \\ u \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} mese \\ bo \\ hi \\ bei \\ mas \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} vui \\ mala \end{array} \right\} \text{HEAD} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} = O \\ ONP \end{array} \right\} tea \left\{ \begin{array}{l} beno \\ tau \\ radu \\ MOD \\ ADV \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} = O \\ ONP \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} sibo - \text{poss} \\ taligu \end{array} \right\}$$

The first element in the VP is always the subject proclitic, which attaches either to the head or to one of the preverbal particles. The subject proclitic and the VP head are the two obligatory elements of the VP; all other elements are optional. The proclitics are only distinguished for singular and nonsingular number, but the next slot in the VP can be filled by the dual particle *ru*, to which one of the nonsingular proclitics may attach to specify dual number of the subject. There are two slots following the dual particle slot which are filled by aspect and mood particles. The first of these slots can be filled by either the realis or irrealis mood particle *mo* or *ni*, or the telic aspect particle *u*. The next slot can be filled by either of the dehortative or apprehensive mood particles *mese* or *bo*, by the preverbal negative particle *hi*, the aspectual particle *bei* ‘just’, or the borrowed mood particle *mas* ‘must’. The slot directly before the head may be filled either by the reciprocal particle *vui* or by the modifier *mala* ‘quite’. *Mala* is the only modifier which can occur before the head, other modifiers occurring postverbally.

Ordering of preverbal elements is rigid, but there is some variation possible in the ordering of postverbal elements. A negative verbal clause is formed by two negative particles, one of which, *hi* occurs preverbally, the other, *tea* postverbally. In a transitive clause the second negative particle occurs either after the O NP, or directly after the verb. The position of the object (whether realised by an object enclitic or an NP) can be either before the second negative particle and an adverb or after, but it cannot intervene between *tea* and an adverb if both occur. So, while the formula states that there are two possible slots for the object argument, only one of these slots can be filled. Other possible postverbal elements are the aspectual particles *beno* 'already', *tau* 'yet, still' or *radu* 'still', which refers to an event as being ongoing. Phrasal modifiers and adverbs also occur postverbally.

### 9.3 THE HEAD OF THE VERB PHRASE

The prototypical head of an Ambae VP is a verb, intransitive (1) or transitive (2). Words belonging to the class of numerals function as intransitive verbs (§4.9), and can therefore be the head of a VP (3). Likewise, there is no separate class of adjectives in the language, and those forms which may occur as adjectives in other languages, are stative-inchoative intransitive verbs in Ambae (§4.4.1.1), and thus also can occur as VP heads (4).

- 1)     **[Ra=mo       mauri.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
        3NSGS=REAL grow  
        *They are growing.*
  
- 2)     **[Nu        ware na   tangeloi.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
        1SGS:TEL call   ACC people  
        *I called the people.*
  
- 3)     **Bagataha higao-ne   [mo   gai-rue.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
        today       year-3SGP REAL NUM-two  
        *Today s/he turns two (Lit. today his/her age becomes two).*
  
- 4)     **Nago-mu   [u   memea.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
        face-2SGP TEL red  
        *Your face is red.*

Apart from these single word predicates which can occur as the verb head, the head of a VP can also be filled by a serial verb construction. Serial verb constructions are discussed in detail in the following chapter (§10), so here I just give examples of nuclear layer (5) and core layer (6) serial verb constructions as the head of a VP.

- 5) [Go=ni inu rongo na malogu.]<sub>VP</sub>  
2SGS=IRR drink feel ACC kava  
*You will taste the kava.*
- 6) [Da=hivo da=si-siu.]<sub>VP</sub>  
1NSG.INS=go.down 1NSG.INS=REDUP-fish  
*Let's go down and fish.*

Many roots in Ambae can occur as either verbs or nouns with no derivational morphology (§4.5), and it should be noted that in these cases it is the occurrence of a word within the VP, preceded by a subject proclitic, which indicates that it is a verb (7), rather than a noun (8).

- 7) [No=mo suru.]<sub>VP</sub>  
1SGS=REAL be.snotty  
*I have a snotty nose.*
- 8) [Suru-ne]<sub>NP</sub> [mo hale.]<sub>VP</sub>  
snot-3SGP REAL flow  
*Her/his snot is running.*

9.4 SUBJECT AND OBJECT CLITICS

9.4.1 SUBJECT PROCLITICS

The forms of the subject proclitics are shown in Table 9.1. The status of these forms as clitics rather than prefixes or independent particles can be seen from their phonological behaviour: when a proclitic attaches to a preverbal particle, this unit has status as a phonological word distinct from the verb head. Evidence for this is given below in discussing the occurrence of subject proclitics with aspect and mood particles (§9.5.1–9.5.9).

	SG	NSG
1INCL	-	da=
1EXCL	na=, no=	ga=
2	go=	ne=
3	na=, Ø, vi=	ra=

Table 9.1 Subject proclitics

The variation in the form of the first person singular proclitic is partially dialectal, and also partially dependent on which particle it attaches to, or whether it attaches to the verb head. *Na=* occurs in the Longana dialect, irrespective of the particle which it attaches to. In the

Lolovoli dialect, however, *no=* occurs before the realis mood particle, and *na=* before the irrealis mood particle, negative particle or verb. When the telic aspect is specified by the particle *u*, a portmanteau form *nu* results.

#### 9.4.1.1 VARIATION IN THIRD SINGULAR SUBJECT MARKING

The variation in the third person singular forms is more complex than in the first person singular. There are three third person singular forms, and their distribution is dependent on which preverbal aspect or mood particles occur, if any. *Na=* occurs when there are no preverbal particles, and it attaches directly to the verb. That is, when the hortative mood is expressed (9), and in certain complement clauses (e.g. (10), where the VP head is a core layer serial verb construction) (§14.2). *Na=* also attaches to the dehortative *mese*. The third person singular form is zero when realis mood *mo* (11) or telic aspect *u* (12) is specified. *Vi=* specifies third singular irrealis mood, and can thus attach to either the irrealis mood particle *ni* or the negative particle *hi*. When this happens irrealis is specified twice, as a negative proposition is by definition irrealis. To have them cooccur is redundant, and thus in the case of the irrealis mood form, *vi=* sometimes attaches directly to the verb, rather than to the particle *ni* (13). In the case of the negative, the most commonly occurring form is for the third singular to be realised as zero, with simply the negative particle *hi* occurring. *Vi=* can however attach to the negative particle (14). If a negative future event is described, *vi=* attaches to the irrealis particle, and then the negative particle occurs before the verb (15).

- 9)     **Gatawale** [**na=loli**     **na hinaga.**]  
 NUM:one 3SGS=make ACC food  
*Someone make the food.*
- 10)   **Go=veve lawe i**     **Pauline** [**na=hivo**     **na=ga-gani.**]  
 2SGS=tell DAT PERS Pauline 3SGS=go.down 3SGS=REDUP-eat  
*Tell Pauline to go down and eat.*
- 11)   **Mo**   **mate.**  
 REAL die  
*S/he is dying/died.*
- 12)   **U**    **mate.**  
 REAL die  
*S/he is dead.*
- 13)   **Vi=(ni)**         **vano.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR go  
*S/he will go.*

- 14) (Vi=)hi vano tea.  
 3SG.IRRS=NEG go NEG  
*S/he didn't go.*
- 15) Vi=ni hi vano tea.  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR NEG go NEG  
*S/he will not go.*

To summarise this variation:

- *na=* attaches to *mese*, verb;
- $\emptyset$  attaches to *mo*, *u*, *hi*;
- *vi=* attaches to *ni*, *hi*.

#### 9.4.2 OBJECT ENCLITICS

There is not a full paradigm of object enclitics; enclitics exist only for singular and third person nonsingular object referents. If the person and number of the object is other than singular or third person nonsingular, it is expressed by an independent pronoun, which therefore forms the head of an object NP<sup>1</sup>. The forms of the object enclitics are listed in Table 9.2 along with the independent pronouns which occur for those members of the paradigm for which there is no equivalent enclitic form. Note that the third person dual is not distinct from the unmarked third person nonsingular form.

	SG	DL	NSG
1INCL		<i>gideru</i>	<i>gide</i>
1EXCL	<i>=eu</i>	<i>gamaru</i>	<i>gamai</i>
2	<i>=go</i>	<i>gimiru</i>	<i>gimiu</i>
3	<i>=a, =e</i>	<i>(=ra, =re)</i>	<i>=ra, =re</i>

Table 9.2 Object enclitics and independent pronouns

While singular and third plural objects may be indexed on the verb, they can alternatively be expressed by independent pronouns in an NP. However, there is no cross referencing of the object on the verb if it occurs as an overt NP, and thus the object surfaces either as an enclitic or an independent pronoun, but not as both (§3.4.1). Compare the ungrammatical sentences (20 and 23) with their grammatical counterparts (18 and 19) and (21 and 22). While an independent pronoun can occur as a subject argument even though the subject is obligatorily specified in the VP, where stating the subject argument twice serves to specify emphasis, in the case of the object argument, it is never possible to have both, not even to express emphasis.

<sup>1</sup> This is the pattern of object marking which has been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic (Evans 1995).



- 16) **Na=ni hui=go mwere vage...**  
 1SGS=IRR ask=2SGO like too  
*I will ask you this as well...*
- 17) **Ra=u hui i gide.**  
 3NSGS=TEL ask PERS 1NSG.IN  
*They asked us.*
- 18) **Langi mo here-gi=eu.**  
 wind REAL blow-APPL=1SGO  
*The wind was blowing on me.*
- 19) **Langi mo here-gi i neu.**  
 wind REAL blow-APPL PERS 1SG  
*The wind was blowing on me.*
- 20) **\*Langi mo here-gi=eu neu.**  
 wind REAL blow-APPL=1SGO 1SG  
*The wind was blowing on me.*
- 21) **Go=mese wehe=ra.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR hit=3NSGO  
*Don't hit them.*
- 22) **Go=mese wehe i netu-ku.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR hit PERS' child-1SGP  
*Don't hit my children.*
- 23) **\*Go=mese wehe=ra netu-ku.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR hit=3NSGO child-1SGP  
*Don't hit my children.*

## 9.5 PREVERBAL ELEMENTS

There are four preverbal slots, and the subject proclitic attaches to the first element in the VP. The dual marker *ru* can fill the first slot, then there are two separate slots for aspect, mood and polarity particles, and the final slot before the head can be filled either by the reciprocal marker *vui*, or the modifier *mala*. The subject proclitic can attach directly to the head of the VP if there are no preverbal particles specifying aspect, mood and polarity.

## 9.5.1 NO PREVERBAL PARTICLES: IMPERATIVE, COHORTATIVE MOOD

VP -> S=HEAD
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If the subject proclitic is attached directly to the verb, and not to an aspect or mood particle, then the imperative (24) or cohortative (25) mood is specified.

- 24) **Ne=toa!**  
 2NSGS=run  
*(You (pl.)) run!*
- 25) **Da=mule!**  
 1NSG.INS=go.home  
*Let's go home!*

9.5.2 DUAL MARKER *RU*

If dual number is specified, the subject proclitic attaches to the dual particle *ru*, which occurs in a slot before the other verbal particles.

- 26) **Ne=ru hage siseri!**  
 2NSGS=DL go.up quickly  
*You two go up quickly!*
- 27) **Ra=ru mo toga logo?**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL live where  
*Where do they (the two of them) live?*
- 28) **Da=ru hi vei tea lai=e.**  
 1NSG.INS=DL NEG do NEG be.able=3SGO  
*We (two) won't be able to do it.*

9.5.3 REALIS MOOD *MO*

VP -> S=(ru) mo HEAD
----------------------

The realis mood can be used to express past and present time reference, habitual aspect, and even future time reference, if the event is in the near future, and the speaker believes that it is certain to occur.

Table 9.3. shows the forms which surface when realis mood is specified, when the subject proclitic attaches to either the dual particle or the realis particle. The clitic status of the subject markers can be evidenced by the fact that when dual number is specified, the subject proclitic attached to the dual marker clearly forms a word distinct from the realis particle, whereas in the singular and nonsingular, the subject marker cliticises directly to the realis and forms a word. The status of these forms as phonological words is attested by the occurrence of word-final vowel deletion, and the option for pausing word finally (§2.6.4, 2.7.1) Compare, for example, the first dual and nonsingular inclusive forms where the head of the VP is *vano* 'to go'. The phonetic realisations of these utterances would be [<sup>n</sup>daru mo 'βan] and [<sup>n</sup>dam 'βan] respectively. For the nonsingular form, the vowel of the realis marker would be pronounced only if the speaker was pausing before the verb, as in [<sup>n</sup>damo: βan].

	SG	DL	NSG
1INCL	-	<i>da=ru mo</i>	<i>da=mo</i>
1EXCL	<i>na=mo<sup>2</sup>, no=mo</i>	<i>ga=ru mo</i>	<i>ga=mo</i>
2	<i>go=mo</i>	<i>ne=ru mo</i>	<i>ne=mo</i>
3	<i>Ø=mo</i>	<i>ra=ru mo</i>	<i>ra=mo</i>

Table 9.3 Subject proclitics attached to realis *mo*

The realis is commonly used to report past events. If it is clear from the context that the event took place in the past, then it is not necessary to explicitly mark that the event is completed by using the telic aspect. Thus sentence (29) is taken from a text in which the narrator is relating a journey which she took the year before, and as it is clear from the beginning of her monologue that all the events which made up her journey took place in the past, the realis is generally employed throughout. Likewise, in (30), due to use of the temporal noun, *nainoa* 'yesterday' it is clear that an event in the past is being referred to, and thus it is not necessary to use the telic aspect. However, speaker's licence can be employed in such situations, and it is acceptable to use either the telic aspect or the realis mood in such a context.

- 29) **Ga=mo**            **kalo** **lo** **aka** **ga=mo**            **maraga Lolowai**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL climb LOC ship 1NSG.EXS=REAL get.up Lolowai  
**ga=mo**            **hage.**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL go.up  
*We climbed on the ship and left Lolowai and headed up (south).*

(LV)

2 *No=mo* is the usual form in the Lolovoli dialect, but *na=mo* can sometimes be heard as a borrowing from the neighbouring dialect of Longana.

- 30) **Nainoa, ga=mo tu lo vale mo bongi.**  
 yesterday INSG.EXS=REAL stay LOC house REAL day  
*Yesterday we stayed at home all day long.*

In describing a sequence of past events realis acts like a default time reference and mood marker, and thus once the time frame relating to the events of a particular utterance has been established, the realis will be the form of the subject marker most commonly employed. When a series of events is being referred to the first verb may be specified for telic aspect and then the realis tends to be used throughout. This is the case in (31), where someone is referring to her family's actions of that day. The first event described takes telic aspect marking, but the speaker then uses the realis mood to describe most of the activities of the day.

- 31) **Ga=u tu tahi-ngaha ngie mo mwamwavi mwere. ...**  
 INSG.EXS=TEL stay LOC-here but REAL hot INT  
**Ga=vano ga=mo ga-garu. Ga=mo hage lolo**  
 INSG.EXS=go INSG.EXS=REAL REDUP-swim INSG.EXS=REAL go.up in  
**talū, ga=mo loli na tovu, ga=mo inu=e**  
 garden INSG.EXS=REAL do ACC sugarcane INSG.EXS=REAL drink=3SGO  
**mo rovo, ga=mo maraga ga=mo himei**  
 REAL finish INSG.EXS=REAL get.up INSG.EXS=REAL go.down:to.sp  
**ga=mo bulu lo vale...**  
 INSG.EXS=REAL join LOC house  
*We stayed here but it was so hot. ... We went and we swam. We went up to the garden, we cut some sugarcane, we ate it all, and then we came down, and we reached the house...*

(CML)

In traditional stories, the realis is generally the mood expressed, as past events are being reported for which the scene has already been set. It is thus not necessary to use the telic aspect, unless the speaker wishes to explicitly refer to the endpoint of an event, as the events which make up a narrative tend not to be viewed from their endpoint, but are discussed as a series of events which follow on from one another.

- 32) **Mo maraga ngihie mo hivo mo solo=ra vunū mo**  
 REAL get.up EMPH REAL go.down REAL wash=3NSGO then REAL  
**hamai, mo tau=re vunū mo hage lobe i Tagaro.**  
 go.up:to.sp REAL put=3NSGO then REAL go.up near PERS Tagaro  
*Then he went down and he washed them, then he came up and put them back, then he went up to Tagaro.*

(JTT011)

The realis mood is always used to mark present time reference, when describing an event which is occurring at the time of the speech act.

- 33) **Ne=mo gani na havai?**

2NSGS=REAL eat ACC what

*What are you eating?*

- 34) **Go=lehi re maresu ra=mo ga-garu.**

2SGS=look PL child 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-swim

*Look at the children swimming.*

Verbal clauses which specify the habitual aspect are marked with the realis mood, whether the aspect is signalling the way in which a procedure is generally carried out (35) or the habitual behaviour of a particular person or group of people. In (36), where the sentence expresses the past habitual, the aspectual information is gained from the context, as in isolation this sentence could also have a simple past or present, or present habitual reading. In (37) the habitual nature of the activity is signalled by use of the aspectual adverb *tamwere* 'always'.

- 35) **Da=mo tai na avi-gi, da=mo lai na**  
1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC firewood-ASS 1NSG.INS=REAL take ACC

**robo-gi, da=mo lai na qeta-gi.**  
large.leaf-ASS 1NSG.INS=REAL take ACC taro-ASS

*We chop the firewood, and we get the laplap (pudding) leaves, and we get the taro.*

(ML004-6)

- 36) **Ra=mo vene ga-ra bigi me na tangaloi gene=a.**  
3NSGS=REAL shoot CL.FOOD-3NSGP meat CONJ ACC people INST=3SGO

*They used to shoot their meat and people with it (them).*

(SS014)

- 37) **Ra=mo balu na ga-da hinaga tamwere.**  
3NSGS=REAL steal ACC CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP food always

*They always steal/stole our food.*

The realis can be used to refer to a future event if the speaker rates the likelihood of occurrence of the action described by the verb as very high, or even definite, and thus sees it as being more 'realis' than 'irrealis'. Thus, in (38), the speaker is stating the plans of the addressee, which she assumes will occur, and is seeking confirmation of these events from the addressee. The irrealis mood could be specified here, but it is not necessary, as the fact that it is anticipated that the event will occur in the future is clear from the context, where the time frame has been indicated. Note from the translation that this is akin to the English

use of the habitual aspect to refer to a future event as though it is certain that the event will take place.

- 38) **Lo Sarere ne=ru mo hivo Santo, ne=ru mo toga**  
 LOC Saturday 2NSG=DL REAL go.down Santo 2NSG=DL REAL sit  
**bongi gai-rue, vunu ne=ru mo hage Vila.**  
 day NUM-two then 2NSG=DL REAL go.up Vila  
*On Saturday the two of you go (are going) to Santo and stay for two days,  
 then you go to Vila.*

The realis can never be used to specify the future if verificationals such as *bataha* 'I think' modify the clause, indicating that there is some uncertainty on the part of the speaker as to whether or not the event will actually occur. The irrealis mood will always be used in such instances. If realis marking co-occurs with use of a verificational such as *bataha* then a present time reference reading must be assumed.

- 39) **Bataha go=ni hage.**  
 I.think 2SGS=IRR go.up  
*I think you will go up.*
- 40) **Bataha go=mo hage (ngaha)?**  
 I.think 2SGS=REAL go.up now  
*You are going up now, aren't you?*  
*\*I think you will go up.*

It is also not possible to use the realis to refer to a future event, even if it is anticipated in the very near future, if the speaker is not able to say with certainty that the event will occur, due to the fact that the speaker and/or the actors do not have control over the event. It is thus not possible to use the realis to talk about tomorrow's weather, for example, even if it can almost be guaranteed that it will rain.

- 41) **\*Mavugo mo uhe.**  
 tomorrow REAL rain  
*Tomorrow it is going to rain.*

#### 9.5.4 IRREALIS MOOD NI

VP -> S=(ru) ni HEAD
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The pronominal forms used with irrealis mood are shown in Table 9.4. The dual forms are irregular. The form expected would be for the nonsingular clitic to attach to the dual particle, and for the irrealis to occur as an independent particle (e.g. 1 DLEXCL *ga=ru ni*). Instead, a portmanteau form occurs (e.g. *ga=ri*).

	SG	DL	NSG
1INCL	-	<i>da=ri</i>	<i>da=ni</i>
1EXCL	<i>na=ni</i>	<i>ga=ri</i>	<i>ga=ni</i>
2	<i>go=ni</i>	<i>ne=ri</i>	<i>ne=ni</i>
3	<i>vi=(ni)</i>	<i>ra=ri</i>	<i>ra=ni</i>

Table 9.4 Subject proclitics attached to irrealis *ni*

It is possible for the realis mood to be used to refer to definite, or highly probable, future events (§9.5.3). This is not to say that the irrealis will not be used for this function (42), and in fact the two are often interchangeable in such instances (43).

- 42) **Mavugo da=ni hivo Lolowai.**  
 tomorrow 1NSG.INS=IRR go.down Lolowai  
*Tomorrow we will go down to Lolowai.*
- 43) **Ra=mo/ ra=ni loli na hinaga lolo revirevi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL 3NSGS=IRR make ACC food in afternoon  
*They are making the food in the afternoon.*  
*They'll make the food in the afternoon.*

There are certainly, however, contexts in which future events are described where it is not possible to use the realis, and irrealis must be specified. Irrealis mood must be marked if the speaker expresses doubt about the occurrence of a future event, as in (44), or if s/he is asking a question about whether or not an event will take place in the future (45). If the speaker is asking when an event will take place which s/he is sure will occur, then it is still possible to use either the realis or the irrealis mood (46), but if the speaker is unsure about the potential occurrence of an event, then the irrealis mood must always be specified. Thus if sentence (45) was marked with the realis, then it could only be given a past time reference interpretation, 'Did you get married this year?'

- 44) **Uhe, bataha vi=vanai vi=ni vei=e vi=ni**  
 rain I.think 3SG.IRRS=go:to.sp 3SG.IRRS=IRR make=3SG O 3SG.IRRS=IRR  
**soi.**  
 fall  
*I think the rain will come and make it fall down.*

(MN008)

- 45) **Vo go=ni legi lo higao ngaha?**  
 if 2SGS=IRR marry LOC year this  
*Are you going to get married this year?*

- 46) **Go=ni/ go=mo mule tagaha?**  
 2SGS=IRR 2SGS=REAL go.home when  
*When are you going/do you go home?*

If it is asserted that an event in the future will not occur, and thus negative polarity is specified, then the irrealis mood must always be used.

- 47) **Ga=ni hi vei na hinaga tea huri=e.**  
 1NSG.EXS=IRR NEG make ACC food NEG PURP=3SGO  
*We won't make food for it.*

(MN031)

While the realis is often used to refer to imminent events, the irrealis would be specified for events taking place in the distant future.

- 48) **Ra=ni vei=e taligu lo higao taligu.**  
 3NSGS=IRR do=3SGO again LOC year again  
*They will do it again next year.*

#### 9.5.5 TELIC ASPECT *U*

VP -> S=(ru) <i>u</i> HEAD
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Before we look at the distribution and function of telic aspect marking, some irregularities in the forms when the subject proclitic attaches to the telic particle should be pointed out (Table 9.5). Both the first and second person singular forms are irregular portmanteau forms, *nu* and *gu*. The nonsingular forms are regular, with the subject proclitic simply attaching to the telic aspect particle *u*. The dual forms, on the other hand, are homophonous with their unmarked counterparts. When the subject proclitic is attached to the particle and apposed to the telic particle *u*, according to the phonological rule whereby a vowel followed by a vowel of the same quality remains unchanged, with no vowel lengthening (§2.6.3), the result is that they are indistinguishable from the unmarked forms.

	SG	DL	NSG
1INCL	-	<i>da=ru</i>	<i>da=u</i>
1EXCL	<i>na=u<sup>3</sup>, nu</i>	<i>ga=ru</i>	<i>ga=u</i>
2	<i>gu</i>	<i>ne=ru</i>	<i>ne=u</i>
3	<i>Ø=u</i>	<i>ra=ru</i>	<i>ra=u</i>

Table 9.5 Subject proclitics attached to telic *u*

<sup>3</sup> *Na=u* is the form used in the neighbouring Longana dialect, but can be occasionally heard in Lolovoli.



It was noted above (§9.5.3) that the realis mood can be (and most often is) used when referring to events which have occurred in the past. Telic aspect is employed when the speaker wishes to talk about a past event viewed from its endpoint. It can be used as a device by speakers to stress the fact that the event occurred in the distant past (49), or was a punctual event (50).

- 49) Tuei tuei vohogi, tauvohea tangaloi tomue-gi ra=u toga  
before before really when people first-NR 3NSGS=TEL live

lo-lo ureure, ngire ra=u hua u siaga.  
REDUP-LOC earth 3NSG 3NSGS=TEL find TEL hard

*A long, long time ago, when the first people lived on the earth, they found it difficult.*

(SS001)

- 50) ...ga=u vai vutugegi vagatigale<sup>4</sup> ngihie.  
1NSG.EXS=TEL make surprise CAUS:one EMPH

*...we were surprised straight off.*

(AH007)

Telic aspect is preferred when a past event is referred to as taking place within an already established past time frame. Thus in (51) the speaker is describing a trip which she had taken, and reaching the point in the story where they had arrived at their destination, she looks back on their voyage, and using the telic aspect, states:

- 51) ...ga=u hamai lo-lo aka lolo tahi ngihie  
1NSG.EXS=TEL go.up:to.sp REDUP-LOC boat in sea EMPH

ga=hi rongo garea tea.  
1NSG.EXS=NEG feel good NEG

*...we came up on the ship, and we did not feel good.*

(LV)

There is an interesting extended function of the telic aspect when it is used with stative-inchoative verbs. When these verbs are marked for either realis or irrealis mood, an inchoative reading is always implied, referring to a process. If telic aspect is specified, this either signals past time reference (in which case either an inchoative or stative reading for the verb is possible) or signals that the verb refers to a present or past state. For example, the verb *garea* 'good', when preceded by a telic aspect particle refers to a state (52), whereas the realis form has an inchoative reading, specifying the process of moving into that state, 'to get better, improve' (53). If irrealis mood is specified this means that the

<sup>4</sup> This form, equivalent to the Bislama *wantaem*, which is clearly derived from English 'one time', can be translated as 'immediately, straight away'.

process will take place in the future (54). Whereas (52) refers to a present state, (55) refers to a past state. According to the context which related to these two examples, it was clear that a present and a past state, respectively, were being referred to, but if either of these sentences occurred in isolation they could have either a present or past state reading.

- 52) **Gineu dolegi ra=u            garea.**  
 thing all    3NSGS=TEL good  
*Everything is alright.*
- 53) **Qatu-mu    mo    ga-gara-si            teu?**  
 head-2SGP REAL REDUP-hurt-APPL still  
**Hate, mo    garea.**  
 no    REAL good  
*Do you still have a headache? No, it has improved/it is better.*
- 54) **Vi=ni            garea.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR good  
*It will improve.*
- 55) **Gamai    ga=u            sao    lo    laveti.**  
 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=TEL many LOC feast  
*There are/were lots of us (Lit. we are/were many) at the feast.*
- 56) **Gutu-mu    mo    sao.**  
 louse-2SGP REAL many  
*You have more lice (Lit. your lice have become many).*
- 57) **Gineu dolegi ra=u            tatarese.**  
 thing all    3NSGS=TEL same  
*Everything is/all the things are the same/equal.*
- 58) **Gineu dolegi ra=mo            tatarese    lo    no-na            domi-ana.**  
 thing all    3NSGS=TEL same    LOC CL.GEN-3SGP think-NR  
*Everything has become equal to his thoughts/what he wanted.*

Examples of some of the stative-inchoative verbs which can describe either a state or process are listed in Table 9.6.

	TELIC		REALIS
	Stative reading	Past reading	Inchoative reading
<i>garea</i>	'to be good'	'to be good/better' (past)	'to get better'
<i>hasi</i>	'to be bad'	'to be bad/worse' (past)	'to get worse'
<i>lague</i>	'to be big'	'to be big/bigger' (past)	'to get bigger'
<i>biti</i>	'to be small'	'to be small/smaller' (past)	'to get smaller'
<i>mate</i>	'to be dead'	'to be dead/die' (past)	'to die'
<i>mwaso</i>	'to be alive'	'to be alive/live' (past)	'to become alive'
<i>bibilu</i>	'to be wet'	'to be/get wet' (past)	'to get wet'
<i>mamaha</i>	'to be dry'	'to be/get dry' (past)	'to get dry'
<i>sao</i>	'to be many'	'to be(come) many'	'to become many'

Table 9.6 Stative-inchoative verbs specified for telic aspect or realis mood

This function of telic aspect marking for specifying states would seem to have a logical origin, as telic aspect is used to view an event from its endpoint, and a state is the natural endpoint of a process. When the process is complete, the subject, which has an undergoer role, will have undergone a change in state, and thus a new state arises. To demonstrate the way telic aspect can be used as opposed to realis mood to specify that the endpoint of a process has been reached, consider the use of verbs such as *manoga* 'to be/become cooked' and *mena* 'to be ripe, ripen'. With these verbs, realis mood is used rather than the telic aspect to describe a situation in which the subject referent has basically reached the state of being 'cooked' or 'ripe', but because the food is still on the fire, or the fruit is still on the tree, it is still being affected, and going through the process of 'becoming cooked' or 'ripening'. The speaker does not express that the endpoint of the process has been reached and does not use the telic aspect until the food is taken off the fire, or the fruit picked, and thus it is true to say that the process can no longer continue as the activity which is causing the process to occur has stopped.

- 59) **Hinaga mo manoga.**  
 food REAL cooked

*The food is cooked.* (This sentence would be uttered if the food is essentially cooked, but it is just being left on the fire a little bit longer until it is perfectly cooked, or until it is ready to be served. It would not be possible to say this once the food had been taken off the fire, as obviously it is no longer going through the process of being cooked.)

- 60)
- Hinaga u manoga.**

food TEL cooked

*The food is cooked.* (This implies that the food has not only been cooked but has been taken out of the stone oven, or off the fire, and is ready to be served.)

- 61)
- Gavige ra=mo mena.**

Malay.apple 3NSGS=REAL ripe

*The Malay apples are ripe(ning).* (This implies that the fruit are ripe enough to eat, but are still going through the process of ripening. It could refer to the fruit of a particular tree, of which some are ripe whereas others are not quite ripe. Generally this statement would be said of fruit which are still on the tree, but this is not necessarily the case if unripe fruit have been picked and left to ripen.)

- 62)
- Gavige ra=u mena.**

Malay.apple 3NSGS=TEL ripe

*The Malay apples are ripe.* (This means that the fruit are completely ripe, such that they could not get any riper, but would only become overripe and start to rot if they were not eaten now.)

All intransitive verbs which have been derived from transitives with the anticausative prefix *ma-* (§11.2.2) exhibit the same contrast. This is to be expected as all verbs which can be anticausativised are O-type transitive verbs which become O-type stative-inchoative verbs when they are derived. If the anticausativised verb is marked for telic aspect, this can refer either to the event described by the verb taking place in the past, or alternatively, to the state which arose as a result of the event taking place. If the realis is used this will always refer to a process, although it could be either a past or present event (66).

- 63)
- Gai u ma-volo.**

wood TEL ANTI-break(snap)

*The stick is/was broken/broke.*

- 64)
- Gai mo ma-volo.**

wood REAL ANTI-break(snap)

*The stick broke.*

- 65)
- No-ku butu, garo-gi u ma-roto.**

CL.GEN-1SGP shoe rope-AL TEL ANTI-break

*The strap on my shoes broke/is broken.*

- 66) **Mavai ngihie mo mwa-lingi-lingi vorogi.**  
 salt.water that REAL ANTI-REDUP-pour without.anything  
*The salt water all spilt<sup>5</sup> out.*

(FRT023)

When a stative-inchoative intransitive verb is marked for telic aspect there are always two possible interpretations of the sentence, depending on whether the telic aspect is being employed with the purpose of referring to the endpoint of a process as a state or as an event in the past. Thus in sentence (67) the meaning is ambiguous between expressing a state, 'The mat is ripped', or an occurrence in the past, 'The mat (was) ripped'. The ambiguity here is actually not that significant, as clearly something must have gone through the process of being ripped in order to come into the state of being ripped. The result is the same, the difference lying simply in whether or not the focus is on the process or the state. For example, when a prepositional phrase occurs as an adjunct to the VP, this indicates that the verb refers to an event (68).

- 67) **Qana ngihie u ma-heve.**  
 mat that TEL ANTI-rip  
*The mat (is/was) ripped.*
- 68) **Uhi u me-bitu dene na vui-gi.**  
 pawpaw TEL ANTI-remove.fruit ABL ACC trunk-AL  
*The pawpaw fell from the tree.*

There are only five transitive stative-inchoative verbs: *mwere* 'to be like', *ilo* 'to know' (69 & 70), *haro* 'to not know' (71 & 72), and two compounds *lehi garea* 'to like' (lit. 'see good') and *lehi hesi* 'to dislike, hate' (lit. 'see bad'). These verbs are all more commonly specified for telic aspect than for realis or irrealis mood, as they generally refer to states, but a realis or irrealis distinction can be specified to refer to a transition or a variation in state.

- 69) **Ngie u ilo na gineu sao.**  
 3SG TEL know ACC thing many  
*She knows lots of things.* (This means that the person spoken of is knowledgeable.)
- 70) **Go=mo ilo na gineu.**  
 2SGS=REAL know ACC thing  
*You know some things.* (said by a mother to her baby when she saw that the baby was able to sit up on her own, meaning that she is starting to learn things.)

<sup>5</sup> While the transitive verb *lingi* means 'to pour', an intentional action, the anticausativised form means 'to spill, be spilt', an accidental and agentless event (§11.2.2).

- 71) ...da=u haro huri vo u mwere na havena.  
 1NSG.INS=TEL not.know COMP say TEL like ACC what  
*...we don't know what it is like.*

(RG039)

- 72) Vo ra=mo hui=go, go=ni haro.  
 if 3NSGS=REAL ask=2SGO 2SGS=IRR not.know  
*If they ask you, you won't know.* (The meaning intended here is that the addressee should pretend that s/he does not know, when actually s/he does know.)

## 9.5.6 DEHORTATIVE MESE/VESE

$$VP \rightarrow S = (ru) (ni) \left\{ \begin{matrix} mese \\ vese \end{matrix} \right\} \text{HEAD}$$

The dehortative particle has two forms, *mese* and *vese*. While *mese* is by far the more commonly encountered form, there is no apparent difference in meaning between the two, and the choice of form does not appear to be related to either age or dialect. The subject proclitic attaches directly to the dehortative particle, preceding the verb, to form a dehortative verbal clause (73).

- 73) Ne=mese rongo hesi lu-ne.  
 2NSGS=DEHOR feel bad on-3SGP  
*Don't feel bad about it.*

(SVB)

Unlike the apprehensive mood specified by *bo* (§9.5.7), *mese/vese* always expresses a command not to perform a volitional action, and thus cannot be used with verbs like *soi* 'to fall', except in an unusual situation in which the addressee was intending or trying to fall. *Mate* 'to die' is not generally a volitional action, but I did hear an example of *mese* being used with the verb *mate* when a woman told her son that it was time for her to die, and he implored her not to (75).

- 74) \*Go=mese soi.  
 2SGS=DEHOR fall  
*Don't fall.*
- 75) Go=mese mate beno.  
 2SGS=DEHOR die already  
*Don't die yet.*

While *mese/vese* can occur with a second person subject to express the dehortative mood, in an instruction to the addressee(s) not to perform the action of the verb, these particles can also occur where the subject is in the first or third person. In this case, rather than expressing an order, the dehortative simply expresses an opinion, or advice from the speaker that the actors should not perform the action.

- 76) **Ra=vese**      **laqa-gi**      **politig**  
 3NSGS=DEHOR speak-APPL politics  
*They shouldn't speak about politics.*

(RG029)

- 77) **Da=mese**      **veve mwere**      **he,**      **huri**      **vo**      **go=ni**      **lado**  
 1NSG.INS=DEHOR say like that COMP say 2SGS=IRR think  
**go=mo**      **domi-gi.**  
 2SGS=REAL think-APPL  
*We shouldn't speak like that, that you will do what you think.*

The dehortative particle can not be used with the first person singular subject marker in its unmarked form.

- 78) **\*No=mese**      **vai=e.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR do=3SGO  
*I shouldn't do it.*

The dehortative particle can also cooccur with a specification of irrealis mood. Where the subject is in the second person this can still have a dehortative effect, but refers to a more distant future event (79). Whereas the dehortative generally acts as an instruction not to perform an action at the time of the speech act, the irrealis dehortative is a warning not to perform that act in the future.

- 79) **Ne=ri**      **mese**      **vui**      **sire-siregi**      **gimiru**      **lu-ne.**  
 2NSGS=DL:IRR DEHOR RECIP REDUP-let.go: APPL 2NSG:DL on-3SGP  
*You two will not/shouldn't leave each other.*

(JMM060)

However, when a second person subject occurs in an irrealis-marked negative clause, there appears to be no difference in meaning from the irrealis-marked dehortative. In fact, both clauses can be given either a dehortative or declarative reading. Further, when one considers that *mese* can occur with an interrogative (82), this suggests that when *mese* occurs in a verbal clause marked for irrealis mood, it is simply another means of specifying the negative. Compare (80) and (81), and (82) and (83).

- 80) **Go=ni mese vano.**  
 2SGS=IRR DEHOR go  
*You will not go.*
- 81) **Go=ni hi vano tea.**  
 2SGS=IRR NEG go NEG  
*You will not go.*
- 82) **Go=ni mese ga-garu?**  
 2SGS=IRR DEHOR REDUP-bathe  
*Aren't you going to bathe?*
- 83) **Go=ni hi ga-garu tea?**  
 2SGS=IRR NEG REDUP-bathe NEG  
*Aren't you going to bathe?*

When the subject is other than a second person form, the warning nature of the dehortative marking can in some cases still be observed in these clauses (84 and 85), but in most instances, a simple negative reading is usual, with no indication of dehortation (86). Sentence (86) has the same meaning as (87) which is a simple negative marked clause.

- 84) **Vo ra=ni mese vai=e ra=ni mate.**  
 if 3NSGS=IRR DEHOR do=3SGO 3NSGS=IRR die  
*If they don't do it they'll die.*  
 (96.51)
- 85) **Maraga ngire mwera ra=mo suri=re ngire re tubui huri**  
 get.up 3NSG man 3NSGS=REAL stop=3NSGO 3NSG PL woman COMP  
**vo ngire ra=ni mese hage.**  
 say 3NSG 3NSGS=IRR DEHOR go.up  
*Then the men stopped the women, saying that they shouldn't go (up).*  
 (GV0020)
- 86) **Bataha vi=ni mese voli=eu.**  
 I.think 3SG.IRRS=IRR DEHOR pay=1SGO  
*I think s/he won't pay me.*  
*I don't think s/he will pay me.*



- 87) **Bataha vi=ni hi voli=eu tea.**  
 I.think 3SG.IRRS=IRR NEG pay=1SGO NEG  
*I think s/he won't pay me.*  
*I don't think s/he will pay me.*

Sentence (88) is a clear example of a case where no dehortation is expressed by *mese*. The subject is in the first singular, the verificational *bataha* expresses doubt about the potential occurrence of the action, and the speaker feels that s/he has no control over the action *lehe* 'to see', so there is no way that this could be an order not to perform the action. This is simply a statement that the speaker believes the event will not occur in the future.

- 88) **Bataha na=ni mese lehe=go taligu.**  
 I.think 1SGS=IRR DEHOR see=2SGO again  
*I don't think I will see you again.*

*Mese!* is also used on its own as an interjection 'Don't!'.

#### 9.5.7 APPREHENSIVE *bo*

VP -> S=(ru) <i>bo</i> HEAD
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The apprehensive mood particle *bo* has a more limited occurrence and specific function than the dehortative mood particle *mese/vese*. It is only used with second person subjects, and rather than simply expressing an order that one shouldn't perform a particular action, it includes a definite warning component that there will be certain negative consequences if the action described by the verb takes place.

One function of *bo* is to warn the addressee against performing an involuntary action which will have a negative effect on him/her. This includes such involuntary events as falling, which the actor has little or no control over (89).

- 89) **Go=bo soi!**  
 2SGS=APPRE fall  
*Careful, don't fall!*

However, *bo* may also refer to an action which the actor performs intentionally, but which may also have a negative unintentional result. So, for example, if someone is cutting bamboo and a person observing is worried that s/he may cut her/himself the speaker will say:

- 90) **Go=bo tai=go.**  
 2SGS=APPRE chop=2SGO  
*Watch out you don't cut yourself.*

Note that *bo* can only be replaced with *mese* in this example if the speaker thought that the addressee was intending to cut her/himself. The result would be a fairly unusual sentence pragmatically.

- 91)    **?Go=mese      tai=go.**  
          2SGS=DEHOR   chop=2SGO  
          *Don't chop yourself.*

The verb *tai* 'to chop' could, however, be used with the particle *mese* in other contexts, if the actor were intentionally chopping something, and the speaker wanted to direct the addressee not to do this.

- 92)    **Go=mese      tai      na      beru-i      vale.**  
          2SGS=DEHOR chop   ACC   post-CONST   house  
          *Don't chop the house posts.*

Sentence (93) comes from a traditional story in which a group of birds are playing around, and another bird warns them to be careful, or they may accidentally spill his coconut oil, in which case he would be very angry. Thus the bird who is speaking is not directly telling the birds that they should not perform the action which they are currently performing, but rather that they should beware that this action does not result in them unintentionally causing another event to occur. (Of course, this is exactly what does happen, with the negative consequence being that the naughty birds find themselves being chased by the other bird.)

- 93)    **"Ne=bo           vai      didihi   na      no-ku           oel!"**  
          2NSGS=APPRE   make   spill   ACC   CL.GEN-1SGP   oil  
          *"Be careful not to spill my oil!"*

In a slightly different use of *bo*, there is no implication of a lack of volitionality or intent on the part of the actor, but rather, the speaker simply warns the addressee that if s/he does perform the action of the verb, then there may be negative consequences. So, as with *mese*, the speaker is directing the addressee not to perform the specific action described by the verb, which is one that the addressee does have control over. In (94) the addressee is being warned by his parents not to go to a feast because he is too naughty and ugly. The implication is that if he disobeys and does go, he will be in trouble. If the dehortative particle used here with the verb *vano* 'to go' was *mese*, no such inference could be made.

- 94)    **Go=bo           vano,   bana      gu           hesi,   gu           hesi.**  
          2SGS=APPRE   go      because 2SGS:TEL bad   2SGS:TEL bad  
          *You better not go, because you are bad, you are bad.* (In this example *hesi* 'bad' specifies both 'ugly' and 'naughty'.)

The speaker uses both dehortatives contrastively in (95). The first sentence warns the addressee about the consequences of dealing with black magic, whereas the second sentence is a simple instruction not to use black magic.

- 95) **Mo=vo,**      **"Ne=bo**      **hako na**      **mate-ana.**      **Ne=mese**      **hako na**  
 3SGS=say    2NSGS=APPRE hold ACC die-NR      2NSGS=DEHOR hold ACC  
**mate-ana."**  
 die-NR

*He said, "Be careful not to handle black magic. Don't handle black magic."*

Only *bo*, and not *mese* can be used when the speaker is warning the addressee about the unintentional result of an action, over which the addressee would have no control.

- 96) **Go=mese**      **tabana**      **lolo**      **uhe,**      **go=bo**      **sege.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR work      in      rain      2SGS=APPRE sick

*Don't work in the rain, be careful not to get sick.*

- 97) **Go=mese**      **gani=e,**      **go=bo**      **lue.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR eat=3SGO    2SGS=APPRE vomit

*Don't eat it, you might vomit.*

Whereas *mese* can occur in combination with the irrealis mood, *bo* cannot. The subject proclitic always attaches directly to the apprehensive particle, which precedes the head of the VP.

#### 9.5.8 *Bei* 'JUST, FOR THE FIRST TIME'

$$VP \rightarrow S = (ru) \left\{ \begin{matrix} mo \\ u \end{matrix} \right\} bei \text{ HEAD}$$

The particle *bei* has an aspectual function, usually indicating that the event described has just taken place in the recent past. In some cases it means that not only has the event just occurred, but that this was the first occurrence of the event. Alternatively, in some cases when *bei* co-occurs with realis marking, the meaning is that the event described in the clause will just take place after some other event described in a previous clause has occurred.

Where *bei* specifies a past event, how recently the event occurred is, of course, relative, varying in different contexts. Thus in (98) someone at a feast is being asked if they have just arrived, meaning within the past hour at the most. The same question asked of someone who has recently moved to live in a village, could refer to a much more extended time period. A more distant event is referred to in (99), which describes the death some years

ago of a man who used to kill people, in an account of tribal fighting and cannibalism on Ambae. Likewise, the introduction of sweet potato is thought, by the old people, to be a relatively recent event in the history of life on the island (100), although it has actually been cultivated for decades.

- 98) **Go=mo bei hamai?**  
2SGS=REAL just go.up:to.sp  
*Have you just come up?*

- 99) **Ale, gatigale mo bei mate.**  
so NUM:one REAL just die  
*So, one has just died.*

(LTD042)

- 100) **Gineu lavasigi, mwere hinaga ra=mo bei vanai. Butete**  
thing some like food 3NSGS=REAL just go:to.sp sweet.potato  
**mo bei vanai vohogi.**  
REAL just go:to.sp really

*Some things, as in food, have just come. Sweet potato has really only just come.*

(SN2.021-2)

While all the previous examples are marked for realis mood, in these sentences telic aspect marking could occur in place of the realis marking with no change in meaning. So a response to (98) could be either (101) or (102).

- 101) **Ho'o, nu bei hamai.**  
yes 1SGS:TEL just go.up:to.sp  
*Yes, I've just come up.*

- 102) **Ho'o, no=mo bei hamai.**  
yes 1SGS=REAL just go.up:to.sp  
*Yes, I've just come up.*

As well as expressing the fact that the event occurred in the recent past, it can also have the added meaning that this event has occurred for the first time. Thus in (103) the speaker is not only stating that he came outside today, in the recent past, but also that he was only just allowed out for the first time that day. In (104) a young girl is describing her first trip away from Ambae, across the sea to another island.

- 103) **Na=mo bei mwelue bagataha.**  
1SGS=REAL just come.out today  
*I have just come out today.*

(DM034)

- 104) ...ga=mo            bei   vano utu   tavalu tahi.  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL just go cross side sea  
*...we have just crossed to the other side of the sea. (i.e. for the first time.)*  
 (LV)

*Bei* has a very different function when it occurs in the second of two conjoined clauses which describe a sequence of events. In this case *bei* indicates that only after the events of the first clause have occurred, will those described in the second clause take place. Unlike the other function of *bei*, which always refers to past events, this use covers habitual (105) and future (106), or potential future (107 and 108) events as well. Thus in (107) the speaker is talking about the taboo of adultery, and says that if a woman dies, it is only after that happens that her husband will be able to go and find another woman to be his wife. Despite the fact that *bei* can be used to refer to future events, it only co-occurs with realis mood, never with telic aspect or irrealis mood or in a VP unmarked for mood or aspect.

- 105) Ngie mo=vo,        "Bongi-garea." Ale mo bei mule.  
 3SG 3SGS=REAL night-good so REAL just go.home  
*He says, "Goodnight." And only then does he go home.*  
 (LK028-9)

- 106) Taro-gi u tatarese huri vo na=ni vetu na no-mu  
 time-ASS TEL equal COMP say 1SGS=IRR weave ACC CL.GEN-2SGP  
 qana vunu go=mo bei mule.  
 mat then 2SGS=REAL just go.home  
*There is enough time for me to weave your mat before you go home.*

- 107) ...sege ngie vi=ni            mate, ale tama-i            netu-ne        mo bei  
       or 3SG 3SG.IRRS=IRR die so father-CONST child-3SGP REAL just  
 hike-si        na vavine dolue...  
 look.for-APPL ACC woman different  
*...or she will die, and only then will her husband look for a different woman.*  
 (JMM037)

- 108) Ale tama-na vi=vano vi=ni            hui na tangaloi ngie, vunu  
 so father-3SGP 3SG.IRRS=go 3SG.IRRS=IRR ask ACC person 3SG then  
 ale mo bei vanai mo veve=a, ra=mo        bulu na  
 so REAL just come REAL say=3SGO 3NSGS=REAL build ACC  
 vale-na, ale ra=mo        bei lei na vavine.  
 house-3SGP so 3NSGS=REAL just take ACC woman  
*So his father will go and ask this person, and only then does he come and say (who it is), and they build his house, and only then do they take the woman for marriage.*  
 (SN1.078)

## 9.5.9 MAS 'MUST'

## VP -&gt; S=(ru) ni mas HEAD

Before contact with English speakers there was no distinct way of expressing obligation or necessity to perform an action; the irrealis mood was used to express obligation as well as simple future time reference. In the modern language, however, the particle *mas*, from English 'must', has been borrowed from Bislama with this function.

Previously, if the irrealis mood was used then this indicated either that the speaker believed that the event described by the verb would occur or that it should occur (109). If s/he wanted to say that s/he thought that the action must take place, then it was only necessary to state that it will.<sup>6</sup> In modern speech however, *mas* co-occurs with a subject marker specified for irrealis mood to make the obligation meaning more explicit. Some of the very old speakers never use *mas*, but most adults do, and children use it with great regularity.

- 109) **Go=ni quqagi vunu go=mo ga-gani.**  
 2SGS=IRR wash.hands then 2SGS=REAL REDUP-eat  
*You (must/will) wash your hands before you eat.*

- 110) **Na=ni mas hagatu Australia.**  
 1SGS=IRR must go.up:DIR Australia  
*I must come out to Australia (to see you).*

- 111) **Re maresu ra=ni mas vano lo sigulu.**  
 PL child 3NSGS=IRR must go LOC school  
*The children must go to school.*

Generally, if someone wants another person to do something, the speaker will simply tell the addressee that s/he (or another specified actor) will perform the action, by specifying irrealis mood to state that the action will take place (112). In modern language the subject proclitic attached to the irrealis particle may also be followed by the particle *mas* (113). The addressee will take this as a request to perform this action, and know, according to her/his relationship to the person who made the request, whether or not s/he is really obliged to comply.

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<sup>6</sup> I believe that this lack of distinction can be attributed to the fact that in the traditional culture, who can direct you to perform an action, and what obligations you have to particular people, are defined by your kin relation to them. Thus if someone stated that you will perform an action, you would know whether or not you would be expected to comply, dependent on your relationship to that person. Everyone knew their responsibilities, and it was not necessary to tell people what they should do.

- 112) **Go=ni voli na bule-ku hanwaj.**  
 2SGS=IRR buy ACC CL.NAT-1SGP watch  
*(You will) buy me a watch.*
- 113) **Da=ni veve lawe ngire mwalakelo huri vo ra=ni mas**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR tell DAT 3NSG youth COMP say 3NSGS=IRR must  
**ahu-gi na no-da matui mavugo.**  
 smoke-APPL ACC CL.GEN-1NSG.INP copra tomorrow  
*We will tell the young people that they must smoke our copra tomorrow.*  
*(=We will ask the young people to smoke our copra tomorrow.)*

9.5.10 RECIPROCAL: *vui*

$$VP \rightarrow S = (\text{PART}) \text{vui REDUP - HEAD} \begin{Bmatrix} = O \\ ONP \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{sibo} - \text{poss.suffix} \\ \text{taligu} \end{Bmatrix}$$

There are four possible constructions which express the same reciprocal meaning, as shown by (114-116) below. One of the construction types involves a preverbal reciprocal particle *vui*, plus reduplication of the verb head. The bound noun *sibo*- 'self', which is also used in reflexive constructions (§9.8.4), is optionally positioned at the end of the VP, after the object enclitic or NP. Alternatively the adverb *taligu* 'again' can be used to describe a reciprocal action.

- 114) **Ra=mo vui lehe-lehe=ra (sibo-ra).**  
 3NSGS=REAL RECIP REDUP-see=3NSGO self-3NSGP  
*They saw each other.*
- 115) **Ra=mo lehe=ra sibo-ra.**  
 3NSGS=REAL see=3NSGO self-3NSGP  
*They saw each other.*
- 116) **Ra=mo lehe=ra taligu.**  
 3NSGS=REAL see=3NSGO again  
*They saw each other.*

When *taligu* is used to signal a reciprocal action, and the subject and object are third person, the meaning can be ambiguous as to whether a reciprocal is being expressed, or if *taligu* is simply carrying the meaning 'again' and the participants are not coreferential.

- 117) **Ra=u wehe=ra taligu.**  
 3NSGS=TEL hit=3NSGO again  
*They hit each other.*  
*They hit them again.*

The reciprocal particle occurs after the other preverbal particles, as demonstrated by (119), and (79) above.

- 118) **Ra=mo vui mana-mana-hi=re (sibo-ra).**  
 3NSGS=REAL RECIP REDUP-laugh-APPL=3NSGO self-3NSGP  
*They laughed at each other.*
- 119) **Da=mo bei vui lehe-lehe i gide (sibo-da).**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL just RECIP REDUP-see PERS 1NSG.IN self-1NSG.INP  
*We have just seen each other.*
- 120) **Ne=ru mese vui lehe-lehe i gimiru.**  
 2NSGS=DL DEHOR RECIP REDUP-look PERS 2NSG:DL  
*Don't look at each other.*

#### 9.5.11 PREVERBAL MODIFIER *MALA* 'QUITE'

The only modifier which occurs preverbally is *mala* which means 'quite, a bit'. Where it occurs, it occurs after all other preverbal particles, directly before the VP head.

VP -> S=(PART) <i>mala</i> HEAD
---------------------------------

*Mala* can only modify a stative-inchoative verb, as what is being stated is that someone or something has undergone a process or entered into a state to a certain extent. This same gradation cannot be expressed for active verbs.

- 121) **Ra=u mala guwerigi.**  
 3NSGS=TEL quite small  
*They were quite small.*

(SN1.014)

- 122) **Nainoa no=mo mala mero, bagataha no=mo mero**  
 yesterday 1SGS=REAL quite angry today 1SGS=REAL angry  
**vohogi/ liu.**  
 really surpass  
*Yesterday I was quite angry, but today I'm even more (really) angry.*



- 123) **Ra=mo bei mala garea.**  
 3NSGS=REAL just quite good  
*They've just got a bit better.*

## 9.6 NEGATION

The negation of a verbal clause requires both a preverbal and a postverbal negative particle. In a simple negative verbal clause with an intransitive verb as its head, the subject proclitic either attaches to the preverbal negative particle *hi* (124), or to the irrealis particle *ni* (125). The postverbal negative particle is *tea*.

VP -> S= <i>ni</i> ( <i>hi</i> ) HEAD <i>tea</i>
--

- 124) **Na=hi gato tea.**  
 1SGS=NEG speak NEG  
*I didn't speak.*

- 125) **Bataha da=ni hi mwaso tea.**  
 I.think 1NSG.INS=IRR NEG live NEG  
*I think we won't live.*

(AH013)

A negative clause cannot contain a realis mood (128) or telic aspect (129) particle. This is logical in the case of the realis, as negative clauses are by definition in the irrealis mood. Past negative clauses are formed simply with the unmarked subject marker.

- 126) **...gamai ga=hi hako tea mate-ana.**  
 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=NEG hold NEG die-NR  
*...we didn't/don't handle black magic.*

(LTD073)

- 127) **Go=ni hi hako na hasi tea.**  
 2SGS=IRR NEG hold ACC bad NEG  
*You will not handle bad things.*

(LTD076)

- 128) **\*Go=mo hi hako na hasi tea.**  
 2SGS=REAL NEG hold ACC bad NEG  
*You did not handle bad things.*

- 129) \*Gu hi hako na hasi tea.  
2SGS:TEL NEG hold ACC bad NEG  
*You did not handle bad things.*

Negative clauses containing an unmarked subject marker can indicate either present or past (130) time reference, or the habitual aspect (131).

- 130) Ga=hi vei rarai na no-mai avi tea.  
1NSG.EXS=NEG make ready ACC CL.GEN-1NSG.EXP firewood NEG  
*We hadn't prepared our firewood.*

(AH006)

- 131) Da=hi gato tea mwere he.  
1NSG.INS=NEG speak NEG like DEM  
*We don't speak like that.*

9.7 OBJECTS

VP -> S=(PART) hi HEAD=O/ONP tea (ADV/PART)

VP -> S=(PART) hi HEAD tea (ADV/PART)=O/ONP

As discussed in §3.4.1, and above in §9.4.2, the object argument in a transitive clause is realised either as an enclitic or as an NP. Unlike the subject argument, which is always indexed in the VP by a proclitic, with an optional NP, the object argument is never indexed on the verb if there is an object NP.

There are two possible positions for the object argument: either directly following the head of the VP, or following other postverbal particles and modifiers/adverbs. The clitic status of the object pronouns is evidenced by the fact that they can attach either to the verb, or if there is an adverb modifying the verb, they can attach to the verb or the adverb. If a third person clitic attaches to an adverb, then the adverb must be marked with the suffix *-ni*, before the clitic can be attached.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Note that this is further evidence that the adverbs which end in *-gi* are derived from earlier verbs which occurred as the second verb in a serial verb construction (§4.6). One of the two applicative suffixes has the form *-gi(ni)*, the ending *-ni* being required before a third person object enclitic (§11.3.1.2). This suffix *-ni* which I label the 'transitive suffix', because it allows an object to be marked on an adverb, has the same function as the *-gini* variant of the applicative suffix.

- 132) **Ra=u weli lategi-ni=e.**  
 3NSGS=TEL carry about-TR=3SGO  
*They carried it all about.*

(LTD052)

- 133) **Ra=u weli=e lategi.**  
 3NSGS=TEL carry=3SGO about  
*They carried it all about.*

- 134) **Go=mo tau bubugi-ni=re.**  
 2SGS=REAL put together-TR=3NSGO  
*You put them together.*

(MD015)

- 135) **Go=mo tau=re bubugi.**  
 2SGS=REAL put=3NSGO together  
*You put them together.*

- 136) **Ra=hi teu tea vurugegi-ni=re.**  
 3NSGS=NEG put NEG well-TR=3NSGO  
*They didn't put them properly.*

- 137) **Ra=hi teu=re tea vurugegi.**  
 3NSGS=NEG put=3NSGO NEG well  
*They didn't put them properly.*

As the following examples show, while an object which is realised as a full NP generally occurs after the verb head and before an adverb, it is possible for it to occur after any adverb.

- 138) **...ne=ri hage ne=ri gehi na talu-de vagasigi.**  
 2NSGS=DL:IRR go.up 2NSGS=DL:IRR weed ACC garden-1 NSG.INP last  
*...you two go up and finish weeding our garden.*

(MTT033)

- 139) **Ale gimiru ne=ri hage ne=ru mo gahi vagasigi**  
 so 2NSG:DL 2NSGS=DL:IRR go.up 2NSGS=DL REAL weed last  
**na talu-de.**  
 ACC garden-1 NSG.INP  
*OK, you two go up and finish weeding our garden.*

(MTT045)

In a negative transitive clause the object pronoun may cliticise to the verb, in which case the second negative particle *tea* directly follows the verb plus its clitic.

- 140) **Retahi-ku, tama-ku ra=ru hi siregi=eu tea.**  
 mother-1SGP father-1SGP 3NSG=DL NEG let.go:APPL=1SGO NEG  
*My mother and father wouldn't let me go.*

(DM033)

Alternatively, if the object argument is represented by an NP, then the ordering is dependent on whether the object referent is specific or nonspecific. If the object referent is specific then the negative particle follows the object NP, whether the head noun is a proper (141) or common noun (142). If, however, the object referent is nonspecific then the head noun is not determined by an article and *tea* directly follows the verb and precedes the object (143 and 144).

- 141) **Vi=ni hi siregi tama-i netu-ne tea, tama-i**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR NEG let.go:APPL father-CONST child-3SGP NEG father-CONST  
**netu-ne vi=ni hi siregini=e tea.**  
 child-3SGP 3SG.IRRS=IRR NEG let.go:APPL=3SGO NEG  
*She will not leave her husband, and her husband will not leave her.*

(JMM030)

- 142) **Ale ngie Tagaro hi inu=e tea, hi inu na mwetarigelegi tea.**  
 so but Tagaro NEG drink=3SGO NEG NEG drink ACC kava NEG  
*But Tagaro didn't drink it, he didn't drink the kava.*

- 143) **Maresu ra=hi inu tea malogu.**  
 child 3NSGS=NEG drink NEG kava  
*Children don't drink kava.*

- 144) **Hate, ngie hi lei tea taragi, ngie mo tabana lolo sitoa.**  
 no 3SG NEG drive NEG truck 3SG REAL work in shop  
*No, he doesn't drive a truck (i.e. he's not a truck driver), he works in a shop.*

Positive clauses with nonspecific objects may give the impression that noun incorporation occurs in Ambae (145), but it is the behaviour of nonspecific objects in negative clauses which demonstrates that noun incorporation does not occur. In a language which has object incorporation, if an object is incorporated, then this means that the verb and its object are tightly bound, and no phrasal elements should come between the verb and the noun. The fact that the second negative particle is placed between the verb and the object means that although the meaning conveyed when an object is nonspecific is like the situation which occurs with noun incorporation, the verb and the noun do not form an inseparable unit.

- 145) **Ra=mo gahi talu.**  
 3NSGS=REAL weed garden  
*They are garden-weeding.*

## 9.8 POSTVERBAL ELEMENTS

Apart from the object argument and the postverbal negative particle, which have already been discussed, the other elements which can occur after the head in the VP are: one of three aspectual particles *beno* 'already', *tau* 'still, yet', or *radu* 'still, forever'; an adverb or modifier; and either the noun *sibo-* 'self' which marks either a reflexive or a reciprocal construction, or *taligu* 'again', which can be used as an alternative to *sibo-* in a reciprocal (§9.5.10).

### 9.8.1 *BENO* 'ALREADY'

VP -> S=(ru) u HEAD <i>beno</i>
---------------------------------

*Beno* can be translated by 'already' in affirmative clauses. It emphasises that an event has taken place, although in some cases this may be contrary to what was expected.

- 146) **Hate, bana gu rahagi gamaru beno.**  
 no because 2SGS:TEL not.want:APPL 1NSG.IN:DL already  
*No, because you already rejected us.*

(VML035)

- 147) **Galigo, mwere ra=u sogagini=e beno.**  
 cloth like 3NSGS=TEL sell:APPL=3SGO already  
*They were already selling cloth.*

(SN1.072)

- 148) **Siu, mwere nu velu beno lawe i gamai...**  
 CONJ like 1SGS:TEL tell already DAT PERS 1NSG.EX  
*So, as I have already told us...*

(FRT158)

When *beno* occurs in a VP which either contains the dehortative particle *mese*, or is marked for negative polarity, the meaning conveyed by the combination is 'not yet'. Whereas in a positive declarative clause *beno* states that the event referred to has taken place, in a negative clause marked with *beno* the meaning conveyed is that the event has not taken place yet, and in the dehortative mood, the speaker is directing that the event should not take place.

- 149) **Vi=ni hi bete tea lawe=a beno.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR NEG give NEG DAT=3SGO already  
*She won't give it to her yet.*

(MM)

- 150) **Go=mese mate beno.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR die already  
*Don't die yet.*

9.8.2 *TAU/TEU* 'STILL, YET'

VP -> S=(ru) (mo/ni) HEAD tau/teu
-----------------------------------

The particle *tau* expresses that an event is 'still' ongoing, and can refer to an event which is ongoing at a point in time in the past (151 and 152), present (153) or future (154). It thus has an aspectual function, describing an event as continuous within the time frame specified.

- 151) **Walter Lini ngie mo toga teu lo gavaman ngihie.**  
 Walter Lini 3SG REAL sit still LOC government EMPH  
*Walter Lini was still in government.*

(AH038)

- 152) **...ga=mo gani na sao-i langi ngire teu.**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL eat ACC waste-CONST wind 3NSG still  
*...we were still eating the refuse from the wind.*

(AH045)

- 153) **Re maresu ra=mo sigulu teu?**  
 PL child 3NSGS=REAL school still  
*Are the children still at school?*

- 154) **Vi=ni tabana tau.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR work still  
*She will still work.*

When *tau* occurs in a negative verbal clause it is best translated '(not) yet'. However the meaning of the particle is the same, as it refers to a negative rather than a positive, continuous event. Thus in (155), the translation 'They haven't come home yet', is equivalent to 'They still haven't come home'.

S=(ni) hi HEAD tea tau
------------------------

- 155) **Ra=hi mule tea tau.**  
 3NSGS=NEG go.home NEG yet  
*They haven't come home yet.*

- 156) **Da=ni hi geni=re tea tau.**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR NEG eat=3NSGO NEG still  
*We won't eat them yet.*

### 9.8.3 RADU 'STILL, FOREVER' ONGOING, CONTINUOUS EVENT

VP -> S=(ru) (mo/ni/u) HEAD *radu*

In some cases the meaning conveyed by the particle *radu* is the same as *tau*; it specifies that an event is ongoing within the time period referred to in the utterance, whether that be before, after, or at the time of the speech act. Thus in (157), which is part of a song, the singer is telling about getting up in the morning, and the fact that s/he 'still' hasn't got up.

- 157) **A buresi-ku mo eno radu. Na=ni maraga na=ni bei**  
 NOM clothes-1SGP REAL lie still 1SGS=IRR get.up 1SGS=IRR just  
**lei=e. A me-ku seu mo dule radu. Na=ni**  
 get=3SGO NOM CL.DRINK-1SGP water REAL hang still 1SGS=IRR  
**maraga na=ni bei lei=e.**  
 get.up 1SGS=IRR just get=3SGO  
*My clothes are still lying there. I'll get up and just get them. My water is still hanging there. I'll get up and just get it.*

(RS020-1)

However, in other contexts, *radu* can have a more detailed interpretation, specifying not only that the event is ongoing within the given time frame, but also that it will continue to be ongoing indefinitely into the future. *Radu* often occurs in biblical texts and sermons (158) as a translation of the concept 'forever'.

- 158) **Bataha lolo mamalawora gatawale da=ri sala radu.**  
 I.think in rock.pool NUM:one 1NSG.INS=DL:IRR lost forever  
*Perhaps in a rock pool, the two of us will be lost forever.*

(FRT070)

While *tau* cannot occur in a clause for which the habitual aspect is specified, *radu* can, and when it does so, the intended meaning is that, not only does the actor perform the action habitually, but s/he does so over extended time periods; it is an ongoing habit, or something which s/he tends to perform continuously. Thus when someone talks incessantly,

modification of the verb *gato* ‘to speak’ with *radu*, suggests that they have a habit of being a chatterbox, or even a nagger (159).

- 159) **Tubui lo vale-ku u gato radu.**  
 woman LOC house-1SG TEL speak continuously  
*My wife is a nagger (lit. she talks continuously).*

#### 9.8.4 REFLEXIVE, EMPHATIC: *SIBO*- ‘SELF’

VP → S=(*ru*) (*mo/ni/u*) HEAD *sibo*-possessive suffix

To express a reflexive action, the object must be coreferential with the subject of the transitive verb, and realised in pronominal form, either as an enclitic or independent pronoun. The object can be followed by the bound noun *sibo*- ‘self’ which is also marked for the same person and number as the subject with a possessive suffix, but this is optional unless the subject is third person (162). *Sibo*- is also used in reciprocal constructions, as discussed in §9.5.10.

- 160) **No=mo lehi=eu (sibo-ku).**  
 1SGS=REAL see=1SGO self-1SGP  
*I see/saw myself.*
- 161) **Niko gu tei=go (sibo-mu).**  
 2SG 2SGS:TEL chop=2SGO self-2SGP  
*You cut yourself.*
- 162) **Ra=ni wehe=ra sibo-ra.**  
 3NSGS=IRR kill=3NSGO self-3NSGP  
*They will kill themselves.*

The same construction is used to express an emphatic, stressing that the subject performs the action of the verb her/himself.

- 163) **Go=tai=e lawe=eu.**  
 2SGS=chop=3SGO BEN=1SGO  
**Hate, go=tai=e sibo-mu.**  
 no 2SGS=chop=3SGO self-2SGP  
*Cut it for me.*  
*No, cut it yourself.*



- 164) **Na=ni solo na gavu-mu lawe=go.**  
 1SGS=IRR wash ACC clothes-2SGP BEN=2SGO  
**Hate, na=ni solo=ra sibo-ku.**  
 no 1SGS=IRR wash=3NSGO self-1SGP  
*I'll wash your clothes for you.*  
*No, I'll wash them myself.*

### 9.8.5 ADVERBS

S=(PART) ( <i>hi</i> ) HEAD ( <i>tea</i> ) ADVERB
---

Phrasal adverbs constitute a small closed class, with most forms ending in *-gi* (§4.6). If the object is realised as an enclitic rather than an NP, the enclitic can attach to the adverb rather than the verb. These adverbs are all exemplified below:

- *bubugi* 'together' (165)
- *lategi* 'about, around, all over' (166)
- *lawagi* 'too much' (167)
- *vagasigi* 'last' (168)
- *vohogi* 'completely, away' (169)
- *vorogi* 'without anything, by itself' (170)
- *vurugegi* 'well, properly' (171)

- 165) **Da=ni ga-gani bubugi.**  
 1NSG.EXS=IRR REDUP-eat together  
*We'll eat together.*
- 166) **Mo loli gineu lategi.**  
 REAL do thing about  
*S/he does/is doing things about the place.*
- 167) **Hate, hi mwamwavi tea lawagi.**  
 no NEG hot NEG too.much  
*No, it's not too hot.*
- 168) **Ra=u geni vagasigi na loko.**  
 3NSGS=TEL eat last ACC pudding  
*They ate the last of the pudding.*

- 169) **Go=tuli vohogi-ni=e.**  
 2SGS=throw away-TR=3SGO  
*Throw it away.*
- 170) **Mo dige vorogi.**  
 REAL walk without.anything  
*S/he walks/is walking barefoot. (Lit. S/he walks/is walking without anything.)*
- 171) **Ra=hi bulu tea vurugegi-ni=e.**  
 3NSGS=IRR build NEG properly-TR=3SGO  
*They didn't build it properly.*

For the most part, phrasal adverbs are those which end in *-gi* (§4.6), however, one adverb which is not a *-gi* form which can occur in the VP with an object enclitic attached is *bibi* 'tightly' (172).

- 172) **Go=mese wali bibi=eu.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR hold tightly=1SGO  
*Don't hold me tightly.*
- 173) **Go=mese wali=eu bibi.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR carry=1SGO tightly  
*Don't hold me tightly.*

### 9.8.6 MODIFIERS

#### 9.8.6.1 *LIU* 'SURPASS'

As a transitive verb *liu* means 'to beat, surpass' (174). However, it can also function as a verbal modifier with a meaning which is clearly derived from, but independent of the transitive verb. It specifies that the action exceeds the level of intensity which is expected<sup>8</sup>, and modifies only positive evaluations, such as 'tall', but not 'short', 'fast', but not 'slow'. It indicates that the subject is extremely tall in (175), and extremely happy in (176), perhaps more so than expected. In (177) the modification of *sao* 'many' by *liu* could indicate that there are an excessive number, or simply a very large number.

- 174) **Go=ni retahigi vano vano go=ni liu Tagaro.**  
 2SGS=IRR chief go go 2SGS=IRR surpass Tagaro  
*You will gain status (become important) until you are higher than Tagaro.*

(EK039)

<sup>8</sup> Early defines the cognate Lewo form *liu* as an 'excessive action marker', stating that it is used to refer to a "situation that has extended beyond usual or appropriate bounds" (Early 1995:242).

- 175) **Mo qaravu liu.**  
 REAL tall surpass  
*S/he is extremely tall (taller).*

- 176) **No=mo rongo garea luwou luwou liu.**  
 1SGS=REAL feel good big big surpass  
*I'm as happy as can be!*

(SVB)

- 177) **Siu netu-de ra=u sao liu.**  
 CONJ child-1NSG.INP 3NSGS=TEL many surpass  
*Then we have (very/too) many children.*

(SVB)

#### 9.8.6.2 HARO 'RANDOMLY'

I have glossed the modifier *haro* as meaning 'randomly', as it specifies that the action described by the verb which it modifies is carried out in a way which is not structured or organised. If *haro* is used to modify a verb which describes an action like *dige* 'to walk', or *tabana* 'to work' (178), the speaker is expressing the opinion that the actor is carrying out the action in a way that appears to have no set structure. For example, the actor may be walking without following the path properly, or working without a good plan, or any idea of how the work should be carried out. A statement such as (181) could be used to describe someone who has been asked a question, and responds in such a way that it is clear that they do not know what they are talking about. In (182) the givers did not select specific recipients, but simply gave to anyone who happened to be there at the time.

- 178) **Go=mo tabana haro.**  
 2SGS=REAL work randomly  
*You work in a disorganised (random) manner.*

- 179) **Go=mo dige haro.**  
 2SGS=REAL walk randomly  
*You walk in a disorganised (random) manner.*

- 180) **No=mo loli=e haro.**  
 1SGS=REAL do=3SGO randomly  
*I'm (just) doing it randomly.*

- 181) **Mo veve haro.**  
 REAL say randomly  
*S/he is just saying anything.*

- 182) **Ra=mo bete lawe na tangaloi haro.**  
 3NSGS=REAL give DAT ACC people randomly  
*They just gave/give (it) to anyone.*

The meaning of (183) is not that the actor eats in a disorganised manner or with unacceptable manners, but rather that s/he is not particular about what s/he eats and will eat whatever food is offered.

- 183) **Mo gani hinaga haro.**  
 REAL eat food randomly  
*S/he eats anything.*

#### 9.8.6.3 INTENSIFIER *MWERE*

As a transitive verb *mwere* means 'to be like (sth)' (§4.20). As a modifier *mwere* specifies that the situation described by the verb is intensified, and it can be glossed as 'really, a lot, very'. It can modify either a stative-inchoative intransitive verb (184 and 185), an active intransitive verb (186 and 187), or an active transitive verb (188 and 189).

- 184) **U garea mwere.**  
 TEL good INT  
*It is very good.*
- 185) **Vale-ra u vagahao mwere.**  
 house-3NSGP TEL far INT  
*Their house is very far away.*
- 186) **Ra=ru mo qalo mwere.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL fight INT  
*The two of them are/were really fighting.*
- 187) **Maresu ngihie mo vi-visi mwere.**  
 child that REAL REDUP-swear INT  
*That child can really swear/swears a lot.*
- 188) **Ra=u wehe=a mwere.**  
 3NSGS=TEL hit=3SGO INT  
*They really hit her/him.*

- 189) **Niko gu veve biti mwere.**  
 2SG 2SGS:TEL tell small INT  
*You said very little.*

## 9.9 OTHER MEANS OF ASPECTUAL MARKING

Apart from the particles already mentioned, there are a number of other means of expressing aspectual information, both within the VP, and as clausal operators. At the VP level reduplication and repetition of the verb can specify, among other things, a continuous, repetitive or habitual action. The functions of reduplication are discussed in detail in §12.

Various types of aspectual information are carried by aspectual serial verb constructions, which are discussed in detail in the following chapter (§10). There are six verbs which can contribute aspectual information in a serial verb construction:

- *rovo* 'finish' = completive aspect (190 and 191);
- *vano* 'go', *eno* 'lie' = continuous aspect (191 and 192);
- *dadari* 'reach', *bulu* 'join, reach' = terminative aspect (193);
- *sigei* 'continue' (194).

Here examples are given to show the type of aspectual information which can be expressed by these verbs.

- 190) **Ale Tagaro mo ga-gani mo rovo, mo maturu.**  
 CONJ Tagaro REAL REDUP-eat REAL finish REAL sleep  
*So Tagaro finished eating and went to sleep.*

(EK093)

- 191) **Ale da=mo vehagi na robo-gi vano vano mo**  
 so 1NSG.INS=REAL spread.out:APPL ACC leaf-ASS go go REAL  
**rovo.**  
 finish

*Then we spread out all the leaves for the pudding (Lit. we spread out the leaves until it is finished).*

(ML015)

- 192) **...mo riqe vano vano malogu mo ma-tala.**  
 REAL lie.around go go kava REAL ANTI-take.down  
*...he lay around until the effect of the kava wore off.*

(EK047)

- 193) **Ra=mo      dige   dige   dige   mo   dadari   lo   vale.**  
 3NSGS=REAL walk walk walk REAL reach LOC house  
*They walked all the way to the house.*

- 194) **Avi   mo   gani   mo   sigei,   kui-kui   hate   mo   sigei...**  
 fire REAL eat<sup>9</sup> REAL still REDUP-bake NEG REAL yet  
*The fire is still burning with flames, and the baking hasn't been done yet.*

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<sup>9</sup> The meaning expressed by this idiomatic use of *gani* 'to eat', is that the fire is still 'eating the wood'. That is, there are still flames, and the fire hasn't burnt down to coals yet.

# 10

## Serial verb constructions

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### 10.1 INTRODUCTION

Verb serialisation is a process which languages employ to create a complex, yet unitary predicate by conjoining two or more verbs. A serial verb construction (SVC) can be formed by combining two clause nuclei or two clause cores (§3.4.2), and can have a number of different semantic functions, including specifying direction of motion, location of action, causation, and manner. It is also one of the means of specifying aspect within the clause.

In some verb serialising languages, such as certain non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea (e.g. Kalam (Pawley and Lane 1998), Yimas (Foley 1991)), and certain languages of West Africa (e.g. languages of the Kwa subgroup of Niger-Congo (Sebba 1987)) a large number of verbs can combine to form a single predicate. In Ambae, and in Oceanic languages in general, serialisation is quite extensive and there are a number of different types, but usually only two, and more rarely three verbs take part in a serial verb construction. There is one example in my Ambae data showing four verbs.

### 10.2 CRITERIA FOR RECOGNISING SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Verb serialisation is found in a broad range of typologically diverse languages widespread across the globe, from Australia, Austronesia and Africa to Papua New Guinea and South America, and there are considerable differences in the form and functions which SVCs can have cross-linguistically. There is, however, general agreement on the basic criteria which must be met in order for a construction to be recognised as an SVC, particularly within the literature which describes SVCs in Oceanic languages. While certainly not all Oceanic languages are verb serialising languages, it is a fairly widespread feature of the subgroup, and has been described in considerable detail in enough languages that it is possible to obtain a general impression of how the process operates in these languages (Lynch, Ross and Crowley f.c.).

In defining SVCs as they occur in Oceanic languages, authors have basically followed the definition set out by Bradshaw (1983). Bradshaw brought the occurrence of verb serialisation in Oceanic languages to the attention of Oceanic linguists with his account of the phenomenon in Yabem, a Western Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea. His

description was actually based on earlier observations by Dempwolff, whose work had remained largely unrecognised as it had been published in German.

The definition which I give here for SVCs is based both on those definitions given for Oceanic languages, and also on definitions from other sources (Foley and Olson (1985), Crowley (1987, 1990), Early (1993, 1994), Durie (1997), Jauncey (1997), Pawley and Lane (1998), Aikhenvald (f.c.b)). In order for a series of conjoined verbs to be recognised as constituting an SVC in Ambae, the construction must exhibit the following features:

1. the verbs in the series act together to express a semantically unitary predicate;
2. each verb in the series is an independent grammatical word which can function as the sole verbal predicate in a mono-verbal clause;
3. there must be some sharing of arguments between the verbs taking part in the construction (although ambient serialisation is an exception (§10.6.3)). Most commonly it is subject arguments which are shared;
4. the intonation contour of a clause containing an SVC indicates that it is mono-clausal;
5. the verbs in an SVC share the same tense, aspect, mood and polarity marking; and
6. there is no grammatical indication of subordination or coordination between verbs in an SVC.

In some cases it is more clear than in others that an SVC expresses a single predicate. While the meaning which each verb contributes to the overall meaning of the clause is always clearly identifiable, in some instances it is easier to view the event described by the combination of verbs in the construction in terms of its component parts. As far as SVCs in Ambae are concerned, (1) is an example at one end of the scale, where a translation of the clause which distinguishes each verb as a separate predicate would give an entirely different meaning from that which is in fact expressed by the SVC. A word for word translation for (1) is 's/he went home lied'. If each of the verbs were to be treated as an individual predicate, the meaning expressed would have to be 's/he went home and lied'. This translation is far from the meaning which the construction does express, although the meaning which each verb contributes to the overall meaning of the clause is clearly evident.

- 1)     **Mo     mule     kali.**  
          REAL go.home lie  
          *He pretended to go home.*

(RTR040)

Sentence (2) is at the other end of the scale. Although the construction represents a single predicate, if this sentence were biclausal, the meaning conveyed would still be quite similar, although less connected. This type of SVC (§10.6.1.1) expresses a purposive meaning, 'to go in order to X'. A biclausal reading of this sentence would not express this



same level of connectedness between the motion of the directional verb and the action of the second verb in the SVC, yet it would not express a conflicting meaning.

- 2) **Gai-rue [ra=ru mo vano ra=ru mo rivu talu.]**  
 NUM-two 3NSGS=DL REAL go 3NSG=DL REAL plant garden  
*Two went to plant the garden.*

(EK007)

Intonation is an important factor in recognising SVCs, and in distinguishing them from conjoined clauses. While in many cases the only possible reading for a particular clause requires that it be recognised as containing an SVC, in numerous other cases ambiguity could arise, if it were not for the fact that the clause boundaries were indicated by intonation. Sentences (3) and (4) are minimal pairs which can only be distinguished by the difference in intonation. The comma in these sentences indicates the clause boundary. As discussed in §10.6.3.1.1, *rovo* 'finish' has two different functions apart from its function as an independent verbal predicate. Sentence (3) contains two clauses, the first of which is an example of aspectual serialisation (§10.6.3.1), where *rovo* indicates completive aspect. Sentence (4) is not an example of an SVC, but here *rovo* has a discourse function in linking clauses, expressing the fact that 'after' the event of the first clause, another event occurred.

- 3) **[Mo vatu na veveo mo rovo,] mo vai na hinaga...**  
 REAL weave ACC weaving REAL finish REAL make ACC food  
*She finished weaving the weaving, and she made the food...*

(EK012)

- 4) **Mo vatu na veveo, mo rovo, mo vai na hinaga...**  
 REAL weave ACC weaving REAL finish REAL make ACC food  
*She did the weaving, and after that she made the food...*

Sentence (5) contains a core layer SVC, with a directional verb as the second verb, which specifies that the action of the verb *toa* 'run' is in a direction up towards the speaker. This clause consists of a single intonation unit. If there were a pause between the verb *toa* and the realis marker *mo*, this would indicate that these two verbs actually comprise separate clauses, meaning 'she ran and she came up', representing two discrete actions, rather than a single event, 'she ran up', as is the case here.

- 5) **Mo maraga, [mo toa mo hamai,] mo wali na**  
 REAL get.up REAL run REAL go.up:to.sp REAL take ACC  
**no-ra maraha.**  
 CL.GEN-3NSGP k.o.mat  
*Then she ran up and got their maraha mat.*

(VML026)

Sentences (6) and (7) both consist of two VPs, but whereas in (6) each VP represents a distinct clause, in (7) there is core conjunction, forming an SVC. It is evident that (6) represents two conjoined clauses, describing separate events, not only because of the intonation, but also because they do not share the same aspect and mood marking. The first verb is marked for telic aspect, whereas the second verb is marked for realis mood.

- 6) [Ra=u hivo,] [ra=mo rivu butete.]  
 3NSGS=TEL go.down 3NSGS=REAL plant sweet.potato  
*They have gone down to the garden, and they're planting sweet potato.*  
 (CML)

- 7) Gai-rue [ra=ru mo vano ra=ru mo rivu talu.]  
 NUM-two 3NSGS=DL REAL go 3NSGS=DL REAL plant garden  
*Two went to plant the garden.*  
 (EK007)

Sentences (8) and (9) show how it is necessary for the polarity specified for the verbs in the series to agree in order for the conjoined verbs to constitute an SVC. In (8) both verbs are marked for irrealis mood, and this evidence, combined with the fact that the clause has a single intonation contour, indicates that it is a mono-clausal unit. Sentence (9) contains two clauses which refer to separate events.

- 8) [Ne=ni vano ne=ni ga-garu.]  
 2NSGS=IRR go 2NSGS=IRR REDUP-swim  
*You'll (all) go and bathe.*
- 9) [Ne=ni hi vano tea.] [Ne=ni ga-garu (vunu).]  
 2NSGS=IRR NEG go NEG 2NSGS=IRR REDUP-swim then  
*You're not going. You'll bathe (first).*

As an SVC is a mono-clausal unit, there can be no indication that one of the verbs is subordinate to or coordinate with another verb in the SVC; the verbs have equal status. As coordinated clauses are often merely juxtaposed, the intonation pattern is often the only means of distinguishing an SVC (10) from two conjoined clauses. If there is any marker of coordination (11), this is a clear indication that the utterance is multi-clausal, and not an SVC.

- 10) Maraga [ra=ru mo singi ra=ru mo hivo.]  
 get.up 3NSGS=DL REAL sing 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down  
*Then the two of them sang as they went down.*  
 (VML015)

- 11) Maraga [ra=ru mo singi,] [(vunu) ra=ru mo hivo.]  
 get.up 3NSGS=DL REAL sing then 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down  
*Then the two of them sang, then they went down.*

One situation which can create ambiguity is where the head noun of the subject NP is modified by a relative clause, contrasting this with a head noun modified by a demonstrative, as the relativiser *ngihie* is homophonous with the demonstrative 'that'. If a sentence is composed of a noun and *ngihie* followed by two conjoined VPs, there could be three possible interpretations of this construction: the head noun is modified by a relative clause and the predicate is a simple VP (12); the head noun is modified by the demonstrative 'that' and the predicate is an SVC which consists of two VPs (13); or the head noun is modified by the demonstrative 'that' and there are two conjoined VPs comprising two separate predicates (14). Once again, the intonation pattern must be relied upon to resolve any ambiguities. An even more complex example is represented by (15), where the head noun of the subject is topicalised as an NP in which the head noun is modified by a relative clause containing a directional SVC, and the predicate is a non-verbal clause.

- 12) [Taragi [ngihie [mo lai na avi]VP]RC]NP [mo hamai.]VP  
 truck REL REAL get ACC firewood REAL go.up:to.sp  
*The truck that is bringing the firewood is coming up.*
- 13) [Taragi ngihie]NP [mo lai na avi]VP [mo hamai.]VP  
 truck that REAL get ACC firewood REAL go.up:to.sp  
*The truck is bringing up the firewood.*
- 14) [Taragi ngihie]NP [mo lai na avi,]VP [mo hamai.]VP  
 truck that REAL get ACC firewood REAL go.up:to.sp  
*The truck (has) got the firewood and is coming/came up.*
- 15) [Taragi [ngihie [mo lai na avi]VP [mo hamai.]VP]RC]NP  
 truck REL REAL get ACC firewood REAL go.up:to.sp  
 ngie bula-mai.  
 3SG CL.NAT- INSG.EXP  
*The truck that is bringing up the firewood is ours.*

### 10.3 CLASSIFICATION OF SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

In classifying different types of SVCs, there are a number of parameters which can be considered. The parameters which I consider in classifying SVCs in Ambae are:

- the layer of the clause at which serialisation occurs, whether it be at the nuclear layer or the core layer;
- the arguments which are shared by the verbs taking part in the construction;
- whether the SVC involves contiguous verb sequencing, or whether an argument can intervene between two verbs in a series;
- the semantic function encoded by the construction;
- which subclasses of verbs are most likely to serialise, and are able to occur in different types of SVCs; and
- whether each verb in an SVC can come from a large open class, or whether one of the verbs must come from a small closed class (symmetrical vs asymmetrical constructions).

### 10.3.1 CLAUSELAYER

Although SVCs contain at least two verbal predicates, they constitute a single clause. Foley and Olson (1985) present evidence that SVCs are mono-clausal units, arguing against a multi-clause hypothesis, stating firstly that “in many cases the serial verb construction and the multi-clausal coordinated structure which is said to underlie it, contrast in meaning” (p.18). Secondly, “in many cases, the clause conjuncts underlying the constructions may have a rather different meaning in isolation than in the serial construction, or may be altogether ungrammatical” (p.20).

In §3.4.2 we established that the clause can be described as having a layered structure, following Foley and Van Valin (1984), where the innermost layer is the nucleus, consisting of the predicate, the core layer comprises the nucleus and its core arguments, and the periphery consists of any adjunctual arguments, those which are not part of the core. Subsequently, Foley and Olson (1985) observed that while serialisation cannot occur at the periphery of the clause, it can occur at either the nuclear layer or the core layer.

In Ambae, the distinction between nuclear and core layer serialisation is immediately recognisable in terms of the structure of the SVC. As discussed in the preceding chapter on the structure of verb phrases, a verb must always be preceded by a subject proclitic, which attaches either to the verb, or to preverbal aspect, mood or negative particles, and a transitive verb can have an object enclitic attached. The process of nuclear layer serialisation is effectively the same as verbal compounding, such that the two verbs taking part in the construction form a single verb nucleus, with one subject proclitic occurring before the first verb, and an object enclitic, where it occurs, following the second verb. In an intransitive nuclear layer SVC the verbs share the same subject, and if the construction is transitive then the object is also shared by both verbs.

Contrastively, in a core layer SVC each verb must be preceded by a subject proclitic, marked for aspect and mood. As specified by one of the criteria which defines SVCs, they must all have the same aspect/mood/polarity value.

Sentences (16) and (17) demonstrate instances of nuclear layer and core layer SVCs respectively.

- 16)    ...**mo tai vaga-mate=ra.**  
           REAL chop CAUS-die=3NSGO  
           ...*he chopped them to death.*

(JW041)

- 17)    **Mo vanai mo toga lo here-na.**  
           REAL go:to.sp REAL sit LOC seat-3SGP  
           *He came back and sat on his seat.*

(BB1.016)

Foley and Olson (1985) also proposed that nuclear layer serialisation was likely to occur in SOV languages and core layer serialisation in SVO languages. While this may be largely true for many verb serialising languages, it was proposed before many descriptions of SVCs in Oceanic languages had been written. Authors writing later descriptions, particularly of Vanuatu languages, show that both nuclear and core layer serialisation are common in SVO Oceanic languages (e.g. Paamese (Crowley 1987), Lewo (Early 1993, 1994), Namakir (Sperlich 1994), Tamambo (Jauncey 1997)).

### 10.3.2 ARGUMENT SHARING

All nuclear layer SVCs are same-subject constructions, and if the clause is transitive, they share the same object as well. The differentiation of different types of SVCs according to the arguments which are shared by the verbs taking part in the construction is thus only relevant where the serialisation takes place at the core layer of the clause. Typologically, there are five types of core layer SVCs which can be distinguished on the basis of variation in the arguments which are shared by the different verbs in the construction, but only three of these types are represented in Ambae. The three types found in Ambae are:

- same-subject, where each of the verbs in the series shares the same subject (18);
- switch-subject, where the object of the first verb is the subject of the second verb (19); and
- ambient serialisation, where the subject of the second verb has no identity with either the subject or object of the first verb, but rather the verb makes a general statement about the event described by the clause (20).

- 18)    **Mo garu-geru mo hivo.**  
           REAL REDUP-swim REAL go.down  
           *S/he swam out to sea.*

- 19) ..ga=mo            vai=re            ra=u            mala   guwerigi   ra=mo  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL   make=3NSGO   3NSGS=TEL   quite   small   3NSGS=REAL  
 ilo=e            vage...  
 know=3SGO   too  
*...we make those small ones know (learn) it too...*

(SN1.014)

- 20) Ra=mo            tulegi=eu    mo            rovo,   ra=mo            mule.  
 3NSGS=REAL   bury=1SGO   REAL   finish   3NSGS=REAL   go.home  
*They finish burying me and they go home.*

(BTD014)

The other types of serialisation found crosslinguistically which are not represented in Ambae are multiple object serialisation (Durie 1997) and cumulative subject serialisation (Bradshaw 1993). In multiple object serialisation, each of the verbs in the SVC is a transitive verb, and each has its own object, where the pattern of argument sharing between the subjects is either same-subject or switch-subject. This type of serialisation is quite rare. In cumulative subject serialisation the subject of the second verb is a combined representation of both the subject and the object of the first verb in the series. While there are no examples of cumulative subject serialisation in my data, it does occur in the closely related Tamambo language (Jauncey 1997), where it is fairly uncommon. It is possible that while it is not in my data, it does also occur in Ambae.

### 10.3.3 CONTIGUOUS VERB SEQUENCING

Durie (1997) discusses whether it is possible for an argument to intervene between verbs in an SVC, distinguishing verb sequences according to whether they are  $\pm$ contiguous. While all nuclear layer and most core layer SVCs in Ambae are contiguous, in switch-subject constructions it is possible for the object argument associated with the first verb in the series to precede the second verb.

### 10.3.4 SEMANTIC TYPE

There are a number of different meanings and functions which can be conveyed by an SVC. The semantic types of SVCs which occur in Ambae are:

- cause-effect
- modal
- conative
- mental process
- directional
- positional

- sequential
- utterance
- causative
- manner
- aspect

### 10.3.5 SUBCLASSES OF VERBS MOST LIKELY TO SERIALISE

Observing SVC types crosslinguistically, Foley and Olson (1985) proposed a hierarchy stating which subclasses of verbs are most likely to take part in an SVC. They found that basic motion verbs are most likely to occur, followed by posture verbs, and that transitive verbs are least likely to occur. This is certainly the case for core layer SVCs in Ambae. But as Crowley has shown for Paamese (1987), Early (1993, 1994) for Lewo and Jauncey (1997) for Tamambo, the opposite situation prevails for nuclear layer SVCs in these Vanuatu languages, and is also true of Ambae. The majority of nuclear SVCs in Ambae contain transitive verbs, with very few containing intransitive verbs. While stative-inchoative intransitive verbs occasionally occur in SVCs, it is not possible for an SVC to consist of two stative-inchoative verbs.

### 10.3.6 SYMMETRICAL VS ASYMMETRICAL SVCs

The distinction between symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs relates to the restrictions on types of verbs that can take part in particular SVCs. In Ambae there is only one type of SVC which is symmetrical, where each verb in the series can come from a large open class. This type is a cause-effect nuclear layer construction (§10.5.1), in which both verbs can be taken from large open classes of transitive verbs. In all other types of SVCs in Ambae, one of the verbs in the series must be one of a restricted subclass of verbs, whereas the other may come from an open class. Foley and Olson (1985) proposed that in asymmetrical constructions (although they did not use this terminology which has been introduced as a parameter useful for distinguishing SVC types by Durie (1997)), it is more likely for the verbs from a restricted subset to follow those from an open class. In Ambae, in some cases the restricted verb is the second verb, but in others it is the first verb. For instance, there are two different types of same-subject core layer SVCs which require a directional verb as the restricted verb (§10.6.1). In one type the first verb is a directional verb, in the other it is the second verb, with different meanings expressed by each type. In the symmetrical cause-effect constructions the ordering is iconic, and this is the pattern which is seen with symmetrical constructions cross-linguistically (Durie 1997, Aikhenvald f.c.b)

## 10.4 SUMMARY OF SVC TYPES

The different types of SVCs are summarised in Table 10.1 according to their semantic type.



Semantic type	Clause layer	Arguments shared	Contiguous?	Symmetrical?
Cause-effect	nuclear	A and O	yes	yes
Modal	nuclear	A and O	yes	no
Conative	nuclear	A and O	yes	V2 restricted
Mental process	nuclear	A and O	yes	V1 restricted
Sequential	core	same-subject	yes	V1 restricted
Positional	core	same-subject	yes	V1 restricted
Directional	core	same-subject	yes	V2 restricted
Utterance	core	same-subject	no	V2 restricted
Causative	core	switch-subject	no	V1 restricted
Aspect	core	ambient	no	V2 restricted
Manner	core	ambient	no	V2 restricted

Table 10.1 Summary of SVC types according to semantic type

## 10.5 NUCLEAR LAYER SERIALISATION

In Ambae it is not possible for more than two verbs to combine in a nuclear layer SVC. When two verbs are conjoined at the level of the clause nucleus, they comprise a single unit, and take the same subject and, if the clause is transitive, the same object. The process is thus the same as verb compounding. The only reason for distinguishing between nuclear layer serialisation and verb compounds is that verb compounds are nuclear layer SVCs which have become lexicalised, whereas this is not the case with some instances of nuclear serialisation, which can be productive.

In asymmetrical nuclear layer SVCs, it is generally the second verb which is more restricted. However, there are cases where the restricted verb is the first verb in the construction, such as SVCs formed with the verb *lado* 'think' describing mental processes (§10.5.5), and those containing the verb *vai* 'do, make' (§10.5.6).

### 10.5.1 CAUSE-EFFECT

The most common and productive type of nuclear layer SVC expresses a cause and effect relationship. Both verbs are transitive verbs which describe an action carried out by the subject which affects the object. The ordering of the two verbs is iconic, with the first verb mainly describing the type of action, and the second verb focussing on the effect the action has on the object. The second verb is generally an O-type verb, either an underived transitive, or causativised intransitive, and it has been established in §4.4.3.1 that these verbs are highly transitive, and that the object is completely affected by the action.

This construction type is symmetrical, and some examples of the types of verbs which occur as the first and second verb in this type of SVC can be seen in Table 10.2.



First verb		Second verb	
<i>bala</i>	'pick up with tongs'	<i>dange</i>	'pull out'
<i>bile</i>	'step on'	<i>dare</i>	'break'
<i>gara</i>	'burn'	<i>duru</i>	'poke through'
<i>gasi</i>	'bite'	<i>heve</i>	'rip'
<i>gina</i>	'pinch'	<i>kore</i>	'break'
<i>tai</i>	'chop'	<i>lingi</i>	'spill'
<i>teve</i>	'cut'	<i>roto</i>	'break'
<i>tisu</i>	'poke'	<i>volo</i>	'break'
<i>tuli</i>	'throw'	<i>vutu</i>	'uproot'
<i>vara</i>	'pull down'	<i>waga</i>	'break open'
<i>vili</i>	'smash'	<i>wahe</i>	'divide, share'

Table 10.2 Verbs which occur in cause-effect nuclear layer SVCs

- 21) ...wai mo tuli waga tanga-na.  
 water REAL throw break.open testicles-3SGP  
*...the water threw him splitting open his testicles.*  
 (JG008)
- 22) Danuta, go=gasi dange na botele ngihie.  
 Danuta 2SGS=bite pull.out ACC bottle that  
*Danuta, bite open (the lid of) that bottle.*
- 23) Mo maraga mo bile duru na rau-i vie, mo  
 REAL get.up REAL step.on poke.thru ACC leaf-CONST giant.taro REAL  
 soi tau hivo, avi mo gara=a. Mo gara vaga-mate=a...  
 fall LOC down fire REAL burn=3SGO REAL burn CAUS-die=3SGO  
*Then she stepped through the giant taro leaves, and fell down below, and the  
 fire burnt her. It burnt her to death...*  
 (BR068-9)
- 24) Nu gina duru-duru na mata-i netu-i tubui.  
 1SGS:TEL pinch REDUP-poke.thru ACC eye-CONST offspring-CONST woman  
*I pinched out all the old woman's children's eyes.*  
 (JTT034)

- 25) **Ale ngihie mwere ga=mo gani tala na gamali**  
 so EMPH like 1NSG.EXS=REAL eat take.apart ACC club.house  
**ngihie...**  
 that

*So then we ate to take apart the club house.*

(MN014)

- 26) **Nu hako sirogi na bue.**  
 1SGS:TEL hold let.go:APPL ACC knife  
*I dropped the knife.*

If an SVC of this type is marked for negative polarity, the second negative particle of the bipartite negative construction (§9.6) is actually placed between the first and second verb. However, the particle negates the clause as a whole, not only the first verb.

- 27) **...vi=ni hi here-gi tea heve-heve na gabani-ni aka.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR NEG blow-APPL NEG REDUP-rip ACC sail-CONST canoe  
*...it wouldn't blow and rip to pieces the sail of their canoe.*  
*\*...it wouldn't blow, but it would rip to pieces the sail of their canoe.*

(AA041)

In a cause-effect SVC the verbs must agree in transitivity. In most cases both verbs come from a subclass of transitive verbs. However, if one of the verbs is derived from an unmarked intransitive verb, it must be marked for an increase in transitivity with an applicative suffix, as in the following examples.

- 28) **Go=tau hili-gi na bue.**  
 2SGS=put hide-APPL ACC knife  
*Hide the knife.*
- 29) **U teu mule-gi na no-ku bue.**  
 TEU put go.home-APPL ACC CL.GEN-1SGP knife  
*He put back my knife (in its correct place).*

#### 10.5.2 V1 + GORO 'TO BLOCK, COVER, CLOSE S.T.'

SVCs which have *goro* 'to block, cover, close s.t.' as the second verb also describe a type of cause-effect relationship, but it is worth discussing them separately here, not only due to the fact that SVCs containing *goro* are so productive, but also because *goro* can serialise with a less restricted range of verbs than other cause-effect SVCs, including intransitive verbs. The fact that it can occur with intransitive verbs to form a transitive clause, with no

marking for valency increase on the intransitive verb (33 and 34) made me initially suspect that *goro* was a preposition rather than a verb. But while it mainly occurs in SVCs, it can occur as an independent verb (30). The other evidence against treating *goro* as a preposition is that if the first verb is transitive, there is never more than one object expressed for the clause as a whole, which is the object of the combined predicate (31 and 32). If *goro* were a preposition, both the main verb and the preposition should take objects.

- 30) **A gaitama-ku mo tu tu wanga, na=ni maraga**  
 NOM doorway-1SGP REAL stay stay open 1SGS=IRR get.up  
**na=ni bei goro=e.**  
 1SGS=IRR just block=3SGO  
*My door is open, I'll get up and just close it.*

(RS022)

- 31) **Ra=ru mo tuli goro na mata-i turegi vale-ra.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL throw block ACC eye-CONST path house-3NSGP  
*The two of them threw [them] out blocking the doorway of their house.*

(DM007)

- 32) **Avi mo gani, mo tau goro=e gene rau-i vie.**  
 fire REAL eat REAL put block=3SGO INST leaf-CONST giant.taro  
*The fire was burning, and he covered it up with giant taro leaves.*

(BR051)

In the previous examples both verbs of the SVC were transitive. However, it is not necessary for the verbs in this type of construction to agree in transitivity. The first verb can be an intransitive verb, as in the following examples:

- 33) **..ra=mo tau na rau-i gai lo ulu-i vale huri**  
 3NSGS=REAL put ACC leaf-CONST tree LOC top-CONST house PURP  
**mo tu goro na uhe.**  
 REAL stay block ACC rain  
*...they put leaves on top of the house to keep out the rain.*

(SS007)

- 34) **...rau-i baego u hivo goro=e.**  
 leaf-CONST breadfruit TEL go.down block=3SGO  
*...a breadfruit leaf had fallen down, covering it.*

(DTT008)

## 10.5.3 MODAL CONSTRUCTION

There are five verbs which take part in modal SVCs. These constructions can be grouped together not only because of their semantic function as modals, but also because they behave in similar ways. Firstly, they are all asymmetrical constructions, but the construction is more productive than most SVC types. There is a lack of transitivity agreement, where the transitivity of the first verb determines the transitivity of the construction. Three of the verbs occur as the second verb in a modal SVC: *lai* 'to take, be able', *samwegi* 'to be unable' and *kali* 'to lie to s.o., pretend'. The other two modal verbs: *tarani* 'to want' and *rau* 'to not want' occur as the first verb.

10.5.3.1 V1 + *LAI* 'TO BE ABLE', *SAMWEGI* 'TO BE UNABLE'

The verbs *lai* 'to be able' and *samwegi* 'to be unable' can occur as the second verb in a nuclear layer SVC to state that the subject is either able or unable to perform the action of the first verb. The first verb can be any active verb, either intransitive or transitive, and while both of these modal verbs are inherently transitive when they function as independent verbs, it is the first verb which determines whether the construction as a whole will be transitive or intransitive.

Both of these verbs are limited in the way that they can be used as an independent verb. Occasionally *samwegi* is used to express that the subject is unable to perform an action which is not overtly expressed (35 and 36).

- 35)     **Nu           samwegi na gineu ngihie.**  
           1SGS:TEL be.unable ACC thing that  
           *I couldn't do that thing.*

- 36)     **Nu           samwegi na hena-na.**  
           1SGS:TEL be.unable ACC name-3SGP  
           *I was not able to remember her/his name.*

As an independent verb *lai* generally means 'to take' (37). While this may not initially appear to be related to the meaning 'to be able', the independent verb is also used with an extended meaning which is clearly related to the meaning which *lai* has in an SVC. If a person is being shown how to perform a new task, once they are able to do it, one can use the verb *lai* to express that they now understand. This is similar to the way in which one can say, 'Do you get it?' or 'Did you take it in?' in English (38).

- 37)     **Go=lai       na hinaga tau vano.**  
           2SGS=take ACC food LOC across  
           *Take the food over there.*

- 38) **Gu lei=e?**  
 2SGS:TEL take=3SGO  
*Did you take it in (understand/learn how to do it)?*

The following examples demonstrate *lai* and *samwegi* in SVCs with intransitive and transitive verbs as the first verb. The transitivity of the construction is determined by the transitivity of the first verb.

- 39) **Go=ni dige lai.**  
 2SGS=IRR walk be.able  
*You'll be able to walk.*
- 40) **"Ka-kati, nu geni lei=e."**  
 REDUP-bite 1SGS:TEL eat be.able=3SGO  
*"Spicy food, I can eat it."*

(JW065)

- 41) **Mo gato samwegi.**  
 REAL speak be.unable  
*S/he couldn't/can't speak.*
- 42) **Nu geni samwegi na loko-i qeta.**  
 1SGS:TEL eat be.unable ACC pudding-CONST taro  
*I can't eat taro pudding. (i.e. I don't like it or it doesn't agree with me.)*

As *samwegi* expresses the negative of *lai*, it is not really necessary for speakers to use the negated verbs. However, while *samwegi* can never be expressed as a negative, *lai* can, the specification of negative polarity for *lai* expressing basically the same meaning as *samwegi*. When *lai* is marked as being negative, the second negative particle occurs between the first and second verb.

- 43) **Gigibo vi=ni vomai, vi=ni hi weli tea**  
 Gigibo 3SG.IRRS=IRR go:to.sp 3SG.IRRS=IRR NEG take NEG  
**lai netu-mu.**  
 be.able offspring-2SGP  
*Gigibo will come, and he won't be able to take your children.*

(MM1)

#### 10.5.3.2 V1 + *KALI* 'PRETEND'

A productive type of SVC is formed with the verb *kali* 'to lie to s.o.' as the second verb, where the resultant meaning is that the subject pretends to carry out the action described by the first verb. While *kali* is a transitive verb, if the first verb in the construction is an

intransitive verb, as in the following examples, then the construction as a whole is intransitive.

- 44) **Mo sege kali.**  
 REAL sick lie  
*S/he pretends/ed to be sick.*
- 45) **Mo ga-garu/ tabana/ maturu kali.**  
 REAL REDUP-bathe work sleep lie  
*S/he pretends/ed to bathe/work/sleep.*
- 46) **Mo vano kali huri na tabana, mo vanai taligu.**  
 REAL go lie PURP ACC work REAL come again  
*S/he pretended to go to work but then s/he came back again.*

The *kali* construction is the only type of SVC which can have a meteorological verb as the verb in the nonrestricted slot. If translated literally, it is as if a certain level of animacy is being attributed to the weather, such that it is possible that it can 'pretend' to rain or be sunny. The intended meaning is that while it may appear as if it is going to be sunny/rainy/dry, the speaker believes that the weather will not stay that way for long.

- 47) **Mo aho/ uhe/ mamaha kali.**  
 REAL sun rain dry lie  
*It won't really be sunny/rainy/dry.*

While it is possible to use this construction to state that an actor is pretending to perform any action, if the action is transitive, a combination of an SVC and a complement clause is used to describe the situation. The verb *vai* 'to do' occurs as the first verb in the SVC, which takes a complement in which the action that the subject is pretending to perform is described.

- 48) **Mo vai kali huri vo u ilo na gugu/**  
 REAL do lie COMP say TEL know ACC cook  
**vatu veveo.**  
 weave pandanus  
*S/he pretends/ed that s/he knows how to cook/weave.*

While this is always the construction which occurs when transitive verbs are serialised, it could also be used when the action which the subject is pretending to perform is an intransitive verb. Note that (49) conveys the same meaning as (45) above.

- 49) **Mo vai kali huri vo mo ga-garu/ tabana/ maturu.**  
 REAL do lie COMP say REAL REDUP-bathe work sleep  
*S/he pretends/ed to bathe/work/sleep.*

In (50) the complement of the SVC is an abilitative SVC, containing the verb *lai* 'to be able'.

- 50) **Mo vai kali huri vo ngie u geru lei.**  
 REAL do lie COMP say 3SG TEL swim be.able  
*S/he pretended that s/he knows how to swim.*

#### 10.5.3.3 TARANI 'TO WANT', RAU 'TO NOT WANT' + V2

The verbs *tarani* 'to want' (51) and *rau* 'to not want' (52) can occur as the first verb in a modal SVC. Usually these desiderative predicates take a complement clause (§14.2.2.6), and they can only occur in an SVC if the subject of the desiderative predicate and the second verb are the same.

- 51) **Ra=mo tarani vano lo sitoa.**  
 3NSGS=REAL want go LOC shop  
*They want to go to the shop.*

- 52) **No=mo rau veve=a lawe=go.**  
 1SGS=REAL not.want tell=3SGO DAT=2SGO  
*I don't want to tell you.*

#### 10.5.4 CONATIVE 'TRY, TEST, TASTE': V1 + LEHI 'SEE', RONGO 'FEEL, SENSE'

Either of the two perception verbs, *leo/lehi* 'see' and *rongo* 'feel, sense', can occur as the second verb in a nuclear layer SVC to state that the subject is performing the action of the first verb in order to 'try' or 'test' something.

- 53) **Nikki vi=ni geni lehi/ rongo na qeta.**  
 Nikki 3SG.IRRS=IRR eat see feel ACC taro  
*Nikki will taste the taro.*

- 54) **Go=gani leo/ lehe=a/ rongo=e!**  
 2SGS=eat see see=3SGO feel=3SGO  
*Try (to eat) it!*

- 55) **Mo wisi lehe=a.**  
 REAL squeeze see=3SGO  
*He squeezed it to see what it was. (Lit. He squeezed saw it.)*  
 (BB1.049)
- 56) **...no=mo wiri rongo=e, no=mo rongo huri vo**  
 1SGS=REAL squeeze feel=3SGO 1SGS=REAL feel COMP say  
**taqa-laha gai-vihe.**  
 shell-coco.shell NUM-how.many  
*...I tested it by feeling, I felt how many shells (of kava) it would make.*  
 (LK015)
- 57) **Toa mo maraga mo ware lehi i netu-ne**  
 chicken REAL get.up REAL call see PERS offspring-3SGP  
**gai-siwo ngihie...**  
 NUM-nine EMPH  
*Then Chicken tried to call her nine chicks.*  
 (MM1)
- 58) **Na=ni hui lehe=a.**  
 1SGS=IRR ask see=3SGO  
*I'll ask and see.*

#### 10.5.5 LADO 'TO THINK ABOUT' + V2

The verb *lado* 'to think about' can occur as the first verb in an SVC to express a number of different mental processes. The two verbs in the construction must agree in transitivity, so either the second verb, like *lado* is inherently transitive (59), or it is marked for an increase in transitivity (61).

- 59) **...mo lado tabe=eu...**  
 REAL think respect=1SGO  
*...he respects me...*  
 (JMM053)
- 60) **Nu lado galuvegi na gineu la-lavasigi.**  
 1SGS:TEL think forget:APPL ACC thing REDUP-some  
*I forgot some of the things.*



- 61) **Go=ni lado hivo-gi niko.**  
 2SGS=IRR think go.down-APPL 2SG  
*You will humble yourself.*

This pattern of serialisation is not productive. The fact that these verb sequences are compounds is partially evidenced by the fact that whereas generally with negative nuclear layer constructions the second negative particle intervenes between the first and second verbs, in these constructions the second particle comes after the second verb and the object of the SVC.

- 62) **Ra=hi lado mava-gi na tamwata tea.**  
 3NSGS=NEG think heavy-APPL ACC peace NEG  
*They don't respect the peace.*

#### 10.5.6 VI + *RARAI* 'READY'

When the verb *rarai* 'to make ready' occurs as an independent verb, it generally has the meaning 'prepare' (63). Often it occurs as the second verb in an SVC where the first verb is *vai* 'make', in which case the meaning of the SVC is still 'to make ready'. It can also occur with other active verbs, where the meaning conveyed by these SVCs is that the object was prepared, or made ready as a result of the action of the first verb, as in (66).

- 63) **Ra=u rarai na hinaga.**  
 3NSGS=TEL ready ACC food  
*They have prepared the food.*

- 64) **...ra=u vei rarai na gineu dolegi.**  
 3NSGS=TEL make ready ACC thing all  
*...they had prepared (made ready) everything.*

(AA054)

- 65) **Ga=hi vei rarai na no-mai avi tea.**  
 1NSG.EXS=NEG make ready ACC CL.GEN-1NSG.EXP fire NEG  
*We hadn't prepared our firewood.*

(AH006)

- 66) **Ra=u tei rarai na tano-i no-ra avi huri**  
 3NSGS=TEL chop ready ACC place-CONST CL.GEN-3NSGP fire COMP  
**vo ra=ni gahagi lei na avi lo aka ngihie.**  
 say 3NSGS=IRR burn:APPL be.able ACC fire LOC canoe that  
*They had chopped a place ready for their fire so that they would be able to light a fire on the canoe.*

(AA036)

## 10.6 CORE LAYER SERIALISATION

Core layer SVCs are initially classified below according to which arguments are shared by the verbs taking part in the SVC. There are three types: same-subject, switch-subject, and ambient. They are further divided according to semantic type, which is related to the subclass of verbs which can take part in the construction. In some cases the first verb is restricted, and this determines the meaning expressed by the serialisation; in other cases it is the second verb which is more restricted and determines the type.

## 10.6.1 SAME-SUBJECT SERIALISATION

There are four types of same-subject core layer SVCs. One of these reports various types of direct speech acts. The other three relate to expressions of direction and location of action, requiring directional or posture verbs respectively. In all four types most verbs can occur in the least restricted slot, with a restriction that stative-inchoative verbs can only occur if they describe a process rather than a state.

## 10.6.1.1 V1 = DIRECTIONAL VERB: MOTION AND SEQUENTIAL EVENT

If the first verb in a core layer SVC is one of the small subclass of nine directional verbs (as discussed in §8 and shown below in Table 10.3), then the first verb expresses movement to a place, and the second verb expresses an event which takes place after the motion. The construction represents a sequence of motion followed by an event which involves the same subject, where generally what is meant is that the subject moves to a place with the intention of carrying out the action.

<i>vano</i> 'go'	<i>hage</i> 'go up'	<i>hivo</i> 'go down'
<i>vanai</i> 'come'	<i>hamai</i> 'come up'	<i>himei</i> 'come down'
<i>vanatu</i> 'go to adr.'	<i>hagatu</i> 'go up to adr.'	<i>hivatu</i> 'go down to adr.'

Table 10.3 The directionals

Sentences (67), (68) and (69) show that any of the directional verbs, either the unmarked forms or one marked for direction towards the speaker or the addressee, can express the initial motion. Examples (70) and (71) show the verbs *hivo* 'go up' and *hage* 'go down' occurring in this type of construction.

- 67) A, neu na=ni vano na=ni rusa na ga-ku hinaga,  
 ah 1SG 1SGS=IRR go 1SGS=IRR take.out ACC CL.FOOD-1SGP food  
 na=ni geni=e.  
 1SGS=IRR eat=3sGO  
*Ah, I'll go and take my food out of the oven, and I'll eat it.*

(BB1.044)

- 68) **Go=vanai go=lasa na gai, na=ni wetu vunuu.**  
 2SGS=go.to.sp 2SGS=beat ACC wood 1SGS=IRR dance then  
*Come and beat the stick and I'll dance first.*

(BR013)

- 69) **Ra=ni vanatu ra=ni veve=a lawe i gimiu.**  
 3NSGS=IRR go:DIR 3NSGS=IRR tell=3SGO DAT PERS 2NSG  
*They'll come to you and tell you.*

- 70) **Go=hivo go=utu na mavai-ni**  
 2SGS=go.down 2SGS=collect.water ACC salt.water-CONST  
**ga-da hinaga.**  
 CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP food  
*Go down and collect the salt water for our food.*

(BR006)

Examples (71, 72 and 73), expressing the unmarked imperative, the realis mood and the irrealis mood respectively, show how the two verbs in the sequence must be consistently marked for aspect and mood. It can also be seen from all of the examples in this section that each verb must be marked for the same subject.

- 71) **Da=hage da=sala.**  
 1NSG.INS=go.up 1NSG.INS=go.away  
*Let's go up and run away.*

(JTT033)

- 72) **Ale mo hage mo gai-lime...**  
 SO REAL go.up REAL NUM-five  
*So it goes up and becomes five...*

(BTD028)

- 73) **Na=ni hage na=ni lehi i Saravae ngihie.**  
 1SGS=IRR go.up 1SGS=IRR see PERS Saravae EMPH  
*I'll go up and see Saravae.*

(BB1.028)

While generally the second verb in the construction can be an active verb, either intransitive (71 and 72) or transitive (67-70 and 73), it is also possible for a stative-inchoative verb to occur as the second verb, but only if it specifies a process (74), not a state (75).

- 74) **Mo hivo mo mate.**  
 REAL go.down REAL die  
*S/he went down and died.*

- 75) **\*Nu hamai nu memea.**  
 1SGS:TEL go.up:to.sp 1SGS:TEL red  
*I came up and I was red.*

#### 10.6.1.2 VI = POSTURE VERB: POSITION AND SIMULTANEOUS ACTION

If a core layer SVC occurs with one of the small subclass of posture verbs as the first verb, the meaning is that the subject of both verbs performed the action of the second verb while in the position described by the first verb. The first verb can be any one of the four posture verbs *toga* 'sit' (76), *labe* 'stand' (77), *eno* 'lie' (78) or *tu* 'stay' (79).

- 76) **Ngie mo toga mo bugogi, Saravae.**  
 3SG REAL sit REAL sing Saravae  
*He sat singing/and sang, Saravae.*

(BB1.031)

- 77) **Maresu mo labe mo ngara mwere.**  
 child REAL stand REAL cry INT  
*The child stood screaming/and screamed.*

- 78) **Ale mo eno mo maturu lolo vui-ni angai ngihie...**  
 so REAL lie REAL sleep in tree-CONST canarium EMPH  
*So he lay down to sleep/and slept in a canarium tree...*

(BB1.080)

- 79) **Stanley mo tu mo laqa me=a, i Anneth, ra=mo**  
 Stanley REAL stay REAL speak COM=3SGO PERS Anneth 3NSGS=REAL  
**tu ra=mo laqa me=a.**  
 stay 3NSGS=REAL speak COM=3SGO  
*Stanley stays and speaks with her, and Anneth, they stay and speak with her.*

(LPD023)

The same restrictions for the second verb apply as for the sequential event SVC. Any active intransitive (80) or transitive (81) verb may occur as the second verb, but a stative-inchoative verb can only occur if it specifies a process (82) rather than a state (83).

- 80) **Re netu-i Vae Gaqaro ngire ra=mo tu ra=mo**  
 PL offspring-CONST Vae Gaqaro 3NSG 3NSGS=REAL stay 3NSGS=REAL  
**ga-garu.**  
 REDUP-swim

*Vae Gaqaro's children stayed and swam.*

(LS1.029)

- 81) **Ra=mo toga ra=mo gani na ga-ra hinaga.**  
 3NSGS=REAL sit 3NSGS=REAL eat ACC CL.GEN-3NSGP food  
*They're sitting eating their food.*

- 82) **Mo eno mo mavute.**  
 REAL lie REAL white  
*It stays and becomes white.*

(LW014)

- 83) **\*U eno u mate.**  
 TEL lie TEL die  
*S/he lay dead.*

#### 10.6.1.3 V2 = DIRECTIONAL VERB: ACTION IN A SPECIFIED DIRECTION

If the second verb is one of the nine directional verbs, this describes the direction of movement which is concurrent with the action of the first verb. So in (84) the first verb is *kalo* 'climb', and the second verb specifies that the climbing is in an upward direction. Likewise in (85) the action is one of 'creeping' in an upward direction towards the speaker. The directional verb itself can also be marked for motion towards the addressee (86).

- 84) **Ale mo kalo mo hage.**  
 so REAL climb REAL go.up  
*So he climbed up.*

(BB1.029)

- 85) **Mo maraga, mo rorogo mo hamai.**  
 REAL get.up REAL creep REAL go.up:to.sp  
*Then he crept up.*

(LS1.028)

- 86) ...no=mo tuli na vinu-gi mo hale-hale mo vanatu  
 1SGS=REAL throw ACC skin-AL REAL REDUP-flow REAL go:DIR

lobe-mu.

near-2SGP

*...I threw the skins and they floated towards you.*

(EK076)

Verbs which can occur first in this construction most commonly have some kind of motion component as part of the meaning, as in the previous two examples and (87) below.

- 87) Mwere, gato mo soi mo hivo...  
 like hermit.crab REAL fall REAL go.down

*Like, the hermit crab fell down...*

(JG008)

It is possible that the type of motion carried out by the subject (be it walking, skipping or hopping) is not described, but that the construction describes an action being performed by the subject at the same time that s/he is moving in the direction described by the directional verb. Thus in (88) the subject (in this case a sea cucumber in a traditional story) is singing as it moves up to the point of action.

- 88) Mo singi mo hamai.  
 REAL sing REAL go.up:to.sp

*It sang as it came up.*

(DTT017)

The burning of a fire incorporates some kind of movement, and whereas this is not generally seen as being directed, a fire can 'burn down' (89), and it can also burn and spread.

- 89) ...avi-gi mo gau mo hivo, mo mate...  
 fire-ASS REAL burn REAL go.down REAL die

*...the fire burns down, and it dies...*

(ML035)

Most commonly verbs taking part as the first verb in this construction are active, but a stative-inchoative verb can also occur if it denotes a process which could be thought of as involving movement in a particular direction, whether literal or metaphorical. In the following examples the subject is getting bigger (90) or getting older (91).

- 90) Ale mo laque mo hage, ale mo wehe na boe vage.  
 so REAL big REAL go.up so REAL kill ACC pig another

*Then, s/he grows up, and s/he kills another pig.*

(APK004)

- 91) **Ale mo sesea mo hage mwere ngaha...**  
 so REAL old REAL go.up like this  
*So she grows old like this...*

(JMM002)

In all the previous examples in this section the subject has been third singular (which is unmarked). If the subject is other than third singular, the directional verb is marked for the same person and number as the first verb.

- 92) **No=mo dige no=mo vano Longana.**  
 1SGS=REAL walk 1SGS=REAL go Longana  
*I walked to Longana*

- 93) **Da=ni toa da=ni hivo lo tahi.**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR run 1NSG.INS=IRR go.down LOC sea  
*We'll run down to the sea.*

It is, however, possible for the directional verb to be in the unmarked third person singular when the subject of the first verb is other than third singular, and if this is the case, there is a difference in the meaning expressed by the construction. Rather than specifying that the subject moves in the direction indicated, the directional verb indicates that in some way the action of the first verb moves in this direction, whether or not the subject actually moves at all. In (94) the actors do move in the direction indicated, but the speaker is stating that it was what they were following, their route, that took them in that direction.

- 94) **Ale ra=mo huri mo hamai.**  
 so 3NSGS=REAL follow REAL go.up:to.sp  
*So then they followed the way up here.*

(RV014)

A clearer example can be seen in (95), where the subject referents of the first verb do not move at all, in contrast to sentence (96). In these two sentences the first verb is *gato* 'speak', and where the subject marking of the directional verb does not agree with the subject specified for the first verb, this means that the sound of the people speaking travels in the direction indicated, and not that people who are speaking move in that direction. They are not moving, but the sound of them speaking travels towards the listener. In (96) on the other hand, the subject of the first verb and the directional verb is one and the same, specifying that the actors carried out the action as they moved in the direction indicated, as is the case in (88) above.

- 95) ...**ra=mo**      **gato**      **mo**    **vomai**<sup>1</sup>...  
 3NSGS=REAL speak    REAL go:to.sp  
*...they were speaking and the sound carried towards us...* (This is the appropriate translation in this instance, but an alternative translation could be simply, *...they were speaking/spoke to us...*)  
 (RTR048)

- 96) **Ra=mo**      **gato**      **ra=mo**      **vanai**.  
 3NSGS=REAL speak    3NSGS=REAL go:to.sp  
*They spoke as they came.*

Sequences of three verbs are only found with directional verbs, but there are several possibilities for the position of the directional verb in the construction. In sentence (97) the directional verb is the second verb, which describes the direction of motion of the action of the first verb, and the third verb gives information about the nature of the action. In (98) the first verb describes the action, and the second verb *huri* 'to follow', as well as the directional verb, relate to the direction of motion of the action.

- 97) **Mo**    **deo** **mo**    **hivo**      **mo**    **tiri**    **lo**    **vuhunge-i**      **qatu-ne**.  
 REAL shit REAL go.down REAL drip LOC top.head-CONST head-3SGP  
*He shat and it dripped down onto the top of his head.*  
 (BB1.014)

- 98) ...**ale** **Mwerabuto**    **mo**    **maraga**, **mo**    **kalo**    **mo**    **huri=e**      **mo**    **hage**.  
 so Mwerabuto REAL get.up REAL climb REAL follow=3SGO REAL go.up  
*...so then Mwerabuto climbed and followed him up.*  
 (LWM013)

#### 10.6.1.4 REPORTING DIRECT SPEECH

When reporting an instance of a speech act directly, the utterance must be introduced by the verb *vo* 'say', whether reporting the words that someone is 'telling' (99), 'asking' (100) or 'singing' (101). This is the construction which occurs when reporting any kind of utterance. It is possible that *vo* can occur alone (102), but if another verb describing the type of speech act is used, then *vo* must also follow it, as the second verb in a core layer SVC.

<sup>1</sup> This example is from a text narrated by a speaker of the Longana dialect, as the use of the form *vomai* rather than the Lolovoli *vanai* indicates.



- 99) **No=mo maraga no=mo veve lawe=a no=vo, "Mese!"**  
 1SGS=REAL get.up 1SGS=REAL tell DAT=3SGO 1SGS=say DEHOR  
*Then I said to him, "Don't!"*

- 100) **Tubui mo hui mo=vo, "Gu lehi i burie?"**  
 woman REAL ask REAL=say 2SGS:TEL see PERS bêche.de.mer  
*The old woman asked, "Did you see the bêche de mer?"*

(DTT011)

- 101) **Burie mo singi mo=vo<sup>2</sup>, "Burie...."**  
 bêche.de.mer REAL sing REAL=say bêche.de.mer  
*The bêche de mer sang, "Bêche de mer..."*

(DTT015)

- 102) **Tama-ku mo vanai mo=vo, "Go=loli na hinaga."**  
 father-1SGP REAL go:to.sp REAL=say 2SGS=make ACC food  
*My father came and he said, "Make the food."*

Note from sentence (99) that this type of SVC is not continuous, as it is possible for the dative object to be stated between the first verb and the second verb. It is also possible for a direct object to intervene between the two verbs of the SVC, as demonstrated by sentences (103) and (104).

- 103) **Mo huri na ahi-gi mo=vo, "..."**  
 REAL sing ACC song-ASS REAL=say  
*S/he sang the song, "..."*

- 104) **Mo veve na no-na leo mo=vo, "..."**  
 REAL tell ACC CL.GEN-3SGP talk REAL=say  
*S/he said what s/he had to say, "..."*

This construction is not only used in reporting the various types of speech acts, but also when imitating another person's actions. This use is similar to the colloquial use of the verb 'go' in English, where one can report on the behaviour of a person (or animal) by saying 's/he went...', and proceeding to imitate the action. In Ambae one can simply use the reported speech verb *vo* on its own, followed by an imitation of the action. For example, reporting that someone had winked at you, you could just say (X) *movo...* and then wink

<sup>2</sup> Note here that in the third singular the realis *mo* cliticises to the verb *vo* 'to say'. This is the only verb which *mo* can cliticise to. The subject markers always cliticise directly to *vo*, never to an aspect or mood particle and *vo* cannot stand on its own as an independent word but must have either *mo* or a subject particle cliticised to it.

yourself. Alternatively, as with speech act verbs, *vo* can occur as the second verb in an SVC, with virtually any verb which can take an animate subject (either actor or undergoer) as the first verb. So in (105) the speaker is talking about a friend of mine who came to visit while I was on fieldwork. He was amused by the way she walked, and tried to imitate her when describing her to people who had not met her.

- 105) **Nikki mo dige mo=vo...**  
 Nikki REAL walk REAL=say  
*Nikki walks like this...* (The speaker imitates someone walking like a ballerina.)

The first verb can also be an active transitive verb, as in (106), where the speaker is teasing a woman who always screws up her face in distaste when she drinks kava.

- 106) **Niko go=mo inu malogu go=vo...**  
 2SG 2SGS=REAL drink kava 2SGS=say  
*When you drink kava you go...* (The speaker imitates the look of complete revulsion on the addressee's face while drinking kava.)

As in other same-subject SVCs, if the first verb is a stative-inchoative verb, then it must describe a process rather than a state (107).

- 107) **Gineu ngihie mo laque mo=vo...**  
 thing that REAL big REAL=say  
*The thing got bigger like this...* (The speaker indicates with his hands a huge balloon being blown up.)

## 10.6.2 SWITCH-SUBJECT SERIALISATION

There are three main types of switch-subject core layer SVCs. Two of these have a similar function to same-subject SVCs incorporating directional and posture verbs, and the other is a causative construction. Note that in effect the directional function does describe a type of causative relationship, as it is the action of the subject of the first verb which causes the object to be affected and experience a change in location.

### 10.6.2.1 V1 + DIRECTIONALS

If the second verb in a same-subject SVC is one of the nine directional verbs, then the verb describes the direction of movement of the subject of the first verb. In an equivalent switch-subject construction, the first verb must be transitive, and it is the object of this verb which is the subject of the second verb, for whom the direction of movement is described.

This construction is commonly used with verbs of carrying, such as *lai* ‘take’ (108) or *wali* ‘carry’ (109). In (110) the applicative form of the verb *hale* ‘flow’ refers to an object being carried by the sea.

- 108) **Ale mo lai=re ra=vano ra=mo tabana, mo ware**  
 so REAL take=3NSGO 3NSGS=go 3NSGS=REAL work REAL call  
**hala-na ra=vano ra=mo tabana.**  
 B.in.law-3SGP 3NSGS=vano 3NSGS=REAL work  
*So he took them to go and work, he called his brothers in law to go and work.*  
 (EK019-20)

- 109) **Go=wali na loko mo vanai.**  
 2SGS=carry ACC pudding REAL go.to.sp  
*Bring the pudding.*

- 110) **A tahi mo hale-gini=e mo vano lo aka-i**  
 NOM sea REAL flow-APPL=3sgO REAL go LOC canoe-CONST  
**Tagaro mo toga lo duvi-i tehi.**  
 Tagaro REAL sit LOC end-CONST sea  
*The sea was carrying them to Tagaro’s canoe, sitting on the other end of the sea.*  
 (EK068)

However, the first verb can be any active transitive verb, where the object is affected in a way that involves motion. Thus someone can pull something in a particular direction as in (111), or the subject can affect the object in any way which results in it moving from one place to another, as in putting something down in a place (112 and 113).

- 111) **...mo reve=ra mo hivo.**  
 REAL pull=3NSGO REAL go.down  
*...he pulled them down.*  
 (RTR067)

- 112) **...ale da=mo woro na matui-gi mo hivo**  
 so 1NSG.INS=REAL squeeze.coco ACC coconut-ASS REAL go.down  
**lolo-na.**  
 in-3SGP  
*...so then we squeeze the coconut milk into it. (Lit. We squeeze the coconut milk; it goes down into it.*  
 (ML056)

- 113) ...da=mo tau na loko mo hivo.  
 1NSG.INS=REAL put ACC pudding REAL go.down  
*...we put the pudding down (into the oven).*

(ML039)

While generally the directional verb is specified for the same aspect and mood as the first verb, and the subject agrees with the first verb's object (114), it is possible for the directional to lack any specification of person, number, aspect and mood (115).

- 114) Ale Suqe mo vano mo lai mwetarigelegi mo vanai...  
 so Suqe REAL go REAL take kava REAL go:to.sp  
*So Suqe went and got some kava...*

(EK085)

- 115) ...na=ni vano na=ni lei mwetarigelegi vanai...  
 1SGS=IRR go 1SGS=IRR take kava go:to.sp  
*...I'll go and get some kava...*

(EK083)

#### 10.6.2.2 V + POSTURE VERB = STAY

- 116) Da=mo tunu=re ra=mo eno lolo avi ra=mo  
 1NSG.INS=REAL roast=3NSGO 3NSGS=REAL lie in fire 3NSGS=REAL  
 memea...  
 red  
*We roast them and they stay in the fire until they become red...*

(ML048)

- 117) ...ale go=mo dule-tagini=e ra=mo eno ra=mo koru...  
 so 2SGS=REAL hang-CAUS=3SGO 3NSGS=REAL lie 3NSGS=REAL dry  
*...so you hang them up to dry...*

(MD043)

- 118) Da=mo tau=re vurugegi ra=mo eno, vunu  
 1NSG.INS=REAL put=3NSGO properly 3NSGS=REAL lie then  
 da=mo tegiri na sine-gi.  
 1NSG.INS=REAL scrape ACC mid.vein-AL  
*We put them (sago palm leaves) away properly, and then we scrape clean the mid-veins.*

(SBH005)

## 10.6.2.3 CAUSATIVES

There are two morphological causatives in Ambae (§11.3.2), but these are very restricted, occurring with only a small number of verbs, and the most common means of expressing a causative relationship is by a switch-subject SVC. The causative verb is the first verb in the construction, where the subject of the transitive verb is the causer, and the object of the first verb is coreferential with the subject of the second verb, and this is the causee. The first verb is most commonly either *vai* or *loli*, both of which mean ‘make, do’, but it can also be another verb which encodes a manipulative meaning, such as *hora* ‘to send’ (122), *bula* ‘to heat’ (123), or *bulu* ‘to build’ (124).

The object can be expressed either by an object enclitic (120), or by a full NP (119 and 121). The verbs in a causative SVC are not contiguous, as the object of the first verb, which is the subject of the second verb, intervenes.

- 119) ...**tangaloi ngihie mo vai na gineu mo hasi...**  
       person REL   REAL make ACC thing REAL bad  
       *...the person who made the thing get worse...*

(RG027)

- 120) **Uhe, bataha vi=ni                   vanai   vi=ni                   vei=e**  
       rain maybe 3SG.IRRS=IRR go.to.sp 3SG.IRRS=IRR make=3SGO  
       **vi=ni                   soi.**  
       3SG.IRRS=IRR fall  
       *The rain, maybe it will come and make it fall down.*

(MN008)

- 121) **Ale mo qasisi=e,                   mo vai ngire dolegi ra=mo**  
       so REAL grind.kava=3SGO REAL make 3NSG all 3NSGS=REAL  
       **inu=e...**  
       drink=3SGO  
       *So he ground it (the kava) and he made all of them drink it.*

(EK056)

- 122) **...ngie mo hora i netu-ne                   gai-rue ra=ru                   mo**  
       3SG REAL send PERS offspring-3SGP NUM-two 3NSGS=DL REAL  
       **hage ra=ru                   mo gahi na talu-re.**  
       go.up 3NSGS=DL REAL weed ACC garden-3NSGP  
       *...he sent his two children up to weed their garden.*

(MTT047)

- 123) ...ale go=mo bula=e, bula=e mo mwamwavi...  
 so 2SGS=REAL heat=3SGO heat=3SGO REAL hot  
*...then you heat it, heat it until it's hot...*

(MD050)

- 124) ...ga=mo bulu=re ra=mo labe...  
 INSG.EXS=REAL build=3NSGO 3NSGS=REAL stand  
*...we built them up...*

(AH053)

### 10.6.3 AMBIENT SERIALISATION

Crowley (1987) in describing a language of Central Vanuatu, Paamese, was the first to identify ambient serialisation as a distinct type. He observes that in this type of SVC “there is no specific referent associated with the subject of the serialised verb, and the verb simply describes a general predication” (p.49).

Two types of ambient serialisation can be distinguished in Ambae: aspectual serialisation and manner serialisation. These types are distinguished on the basis of the types of verbs which can occur as the restricted second verb in the series, and the meaning which the serialisation expresses. There is a small set of verbs which can be employed to express several aspectual functions, and the second verb can also express the manner in which the action described by the first verb is carried out.

#### 10.6.3.1 ASPECTUAL FUNCTION

There are six verbs which can contribute aspectual information in an SVC:

- *rovo* ‘finish’ – completive aspect
- *vano* ‘go’ – continuous aspect
- *eno* ‘lie’ – continuous aspect
- *dadari* ‘reach’ – terminative aspect
- *bulu* ‘join, reach’ – terminative aspect
- *sigei* ‘continue’

When one of these verbs occurs in an SVC it is always expressed in the unmarked third person singular; it does not agree with the person and number of the first verb.

##### 10.6.3.1.1 ROVO ‘FINISH’ – COMPLETIVE ASPECT

*Rovo* ‘finish’ is a stative-inchoative intransitive verb which has no transitive form, and thus when it functions as a main verb, it can describe something which is in the state of being finished, when marked for telic aspect (125), or something which is in the process of finishing, if marked for realis or irrealis (126) mood.

- 125) **Ga-da hinaga u rovo rovo rovo vurugegi.**  
 CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP food TEL finish finish finish completely  
*Our food is completely finished.*

- 126) **No-mai miting vi=ni rovo mavugo.**  
 CL.GEN-1NSG.EXP meeting 3SG.IRRS=IRR finish tomorrow  
*Our meeting will finish tomorrow.*

When *rovo* occurs as the second verb in an SVC, it expresses completive aspect, and it can be translated as meaning either that something was done completely (127), that it was all done (128), or that it was finished being done (129). Often, as in all of the examples below, *rovo* marks the fact that when the action of the first verb in the SVC has been completed, a further event takes place, which is described in the following clause. This is often what occurs when describing the way in which a procedure is carried out, or when a series of events is described in a narrative. Example (130) is taken from a traditional story, and this sentence contains two SVCs in which the completive aspect is expressed by the verb *rovo*, as the storyteller describes the progression of events as they unfold in the story. Example (131) is part of a description of the procedure involved in weaving a mat, and this text contains many instances of *rovo* expressing the completive aspect.

- 127) **Mo wali=e, mo havu=e mo rovo, mo kui=e**  
 REAL take=3SGO REAL pluck=3SGO REAL finish REAL bake=3SGO  
**me-na qeta.**  
 CON-ACC taro

*He took it, and plucked it (completely) and then he baked it with taro.*

(BB1.019)

- 128) **Mo rusa=e rusa=e mo rovo, mo tau=e lolo**  
 REAL take.out=3SGO take.out=3SGO REAL finish REAL put=3SGO in  
**robo-gi mo vano...**  
 pudding.leaf-ASS REAL go

*He took it all out of the oven, and he put it on the pudding leaf...*

(BB1.048)

- 129) **Ale taro-gi mwere ra=ru mo laqa mo rovo, i Suqe**  
 so time-ASS like 3NSGS=DL REAL speak REAL finish PERS Suqe  
**mo veve lawe i Tagaro...**  
 REAL tell DAT PERS Tagaro

*So when the two of them had finished speaking, Suqe said to Tagaro...*

(EK077)

- 130) **Mo maraga mo geli=e geli=e mo rovo, mo gahagi**  
 REAL get.up REAL dig=3SGO dig=3SGO REAL finish REAL burn:APPL  
**na avi mo rovo, mo=vo...**  
 ACC fire REAL finish REAL=say

*Then he dug it completely, and he lit the fire, and he said...*

(BR053)

- 131) **No=vinu=e mo rovo, no=vatu=e vatu=e**  
 1SGS=join.sides=3SGO REAL finish 1SGS=weave=3SGO weave=3SGO  
**vatu=e rovo, no=mo tau=e tau mo eno.**  
 weave=3SGO finish 1SGS=REAL put=3SGO LOC REAL lie

*I finish joining in the other side, then I weave it all, and put it aside.*

(LW017)

Most commonly aspectual *rovo* is marked for realis mood when referring to an event which was completed in the past. It can also be marked for irrealis mood, in order to refer to the completion of a future event (132), in which case the first verb must also be marked for irrealis mood. If one wishes to express that an event is not complete, then *rovo* can be negated (133).

- 132) **...ra=ni uli=e vi=rovo, vunu ra=ni tei=e.**  
 3NSGS=IRR draw=3SGO 3SG.IRRS=finish then 3NSGS=IRR cut=3SGO  
*...they'll finish drawing it, and then they'll cut her.*

(LS2.008)

- 133) **...da=mo gani=e hi rovo tea...**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL eat=3SGO NEG finish NEG  
*...we haven't finished eating it...*

(ML073)

When *rovo* refers to the completion of an event in the past, it need not be marked for telic aspect or realis mood, matching the aspect or mood marking of the first verb, but can occur unmarked as in the following two examples.

- 134) **Ho'o u ga-garu rovo beno.**  
 yes TEL REDUP-swim finish already  
*Yes, she's already finished bathing.*

- 135) **...ra=mo tigo rovo, ra=mo toa.**  
 3NSGS=REAL k.o.dance finish 3NSGS=REAL run  
*...they finished dancing and they ran.*

(DM017)



*Rovo* can also have a conjunctive function when it occurs clause initially (136). Refer to §15.2.3.1 for comment on the importance of intonation in determining whether *mo rovo* is occurring clause initially with a conjunctive discourse function, or clause finally as part of an SVC with an aspectual function specifying completive aspect.

- 136) **Mo rovo, ngie mo wehe na vavine ngihie...**  
 REAL finish 3SG REAL kill ACC woman that  
*After, he killed that woman...*

(EK021)

#### 10.6.3.1.2 *VANO* 'GO' - CONTINUOUS ASPECT

The directional verb *vano* 'to go' can be used to indicate continuous aspect, specifying that the action of the first verb goes on until the event described by the following verb occurs. The most common means of forming this construction is that the verb occurs twice and is not marked for aspect or mood (137). It is also possible however that not only can *vano* occur only once (138), but commonly it can be repeated many times to indicate that the event went on for an even longer period of time (139).

- 137) **Go=ni retahigi vano vano go=ni liu Tagaro.**  
 2SGS=IRR important go go 2SGS=IRR surpass Tagaro  
*You will become important until you are higher than Tagaro.*

(EK039)

- 138) **Ale ra=mo vai=e vano i Saravae ngie mo rongo=e.**  
 so 3NSGS=REAL do=3SGO go PERS Saravae 3SG REAL hear=3SGO  
*So they did it until Saravae heard it.*

(BB1.022)

- 139) **Mo wehe=a, mwere mo eno mo vo-vo-vano mo**  
 REAL hit=3SGO like REAL lie REAL REDUP-REDUP-go REAL  
**sure-sure-gi vo-vo-vo-vano mwere mo dori.**  
 REDUP-shake-APPL REDUP-REDUP-REDUP-go like REAL turn  
*It affected him, and like it stayed until he shook and shook until he turned over.*

(EK094)

In describing procedures *vano* and *rovo* commonly occur together in an SVC to indicate that an event continues until it is finished. This is thus another instance where three verbs can occur in an SVC, where the first verb describes the actual event, and both *vano* and *rovo* contribute aspectual information (140).

- 140)
- No=mo      teve=a      vano vano mo    rovo...**

1SGS=REAL cut=3SGO go go REAL finish

*I cut all of it. (Lit. I keep cutting it until it is finished.)*

(LK014)

I have one example where there are four verbs in an SVC, and this is an example of ambient serialisation where a stative verb is used to describe the manner in which the action of the verb is performed, and *vano* and *rovo* also occur to indicate aspect (141).

- 141)
- Ra=mo      toa    qaravu    vano vano mo    rovo.**

3NSGS=REAL run long go go REAL finish

*They ran up and down in a line until it was finished.*

(DM027)

10.6.3.1.3 *ENO* 'LIE'

The verb *eno* 'lie' has an aspectual function similar to *vano*, in that it specifies an event which continues or endures. The main difference is that while *vano* indicates that an action continues until some endpoint is specified, *eno* generally indicates a state of affairs which is ongoing. The other difference is that while with *vano* an endpoint of the event is reached, often with *eno* the situation is still going on within the time frame specified in the speech act. So in (142) what is stated is not that the woman in the story has been continuously beaten; the clause does not describe a single event. Rather, the situation of her being beaten regularly has continued for some time, and is still going on. Compare this with sentence (143), in which use of *vano* to indicate continuous aspect specifies that a single instance of the person being beaten continued on until the person died, thus an endpoint of the action was reached.

- 142)
- ...gu      wehi=eu    mo    eno    mo    eno mo    dadari    siseri-ngihie.**

2SGS:TEL hit=1SGO REAL lie REAL lie REAL reach now-EMPH

*...you beat me, and that has kept on until now.*

(VLL022)

- 143)
- Mo    wehe=a    vano    vano vano mo    mate.**

REAL hit=3SGO go go go REAL die

*He beat her until she died.*10.6.3.1.4 *DADARI*, *BULU* 'REACH, ARRIVE'

These two verbs have very similar meanings, both when occurring as a main verb, and as an aspectual verb in an ambient SVC. *Dadari* is the more common of the two, both as an independent verb and in an SVC, but it does basically have the same distribution as *bulu*.

Both verbs are active intransitive verbs which can take a locative adjunct (144). Whereas *bulu* requires a locative adjunct, *dadari* does not (145).

- 144) **Ra=ni dadari/ bulu lo vale.**  
 3NSGS=IRR reach reach LOC house  
*They will arrive at/reach the house.*

- 145) **Vi=ni dadari mavugo.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR arrive tomorrow  
*S/he will arrive tomorrow.*

- 146) **...ra=mo hage ra=mo dadari Tasirigi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.up 3NSGS=REAL reach Tasirigi  
*They went up as far as Tasirigi.*

(BB1.076)

- 147) **...lo vule Septeba, mo hage mo dadari Diseba...**  
 LOC month September REAL go.up REAL reach December  
*...in the month of September, up until December...*

(MHM)

- 148) **...ngavulu gai-rue mo hage mo dadari ngavulu gai-tolu...**  
 ten NUM-TWO REAL go.up REAL reach ten NUM-three  
*...twenty and going up to thirty...*

(AA034)

- 149) **...mo hivo hivo hivo mo dadari Lo-vatu-kulo...**  
 REAL go.down go.down go.down REAL reach LOC-stone-round  
*...he went down and down as far as Lovatukulo.*

(BB1.088)

- 150) **Siu tano-gi mo eno, mo eno mo dadari bagataha.**  
 CONJ place-ASS REAL lie REAL lie REAL reach today  
*Well the place is there, it remains there until today.*

(BB1.095)

- 151) **...ra=mo hage hage hage hage ra=mo bulu lolo Manaro.**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.up go.up go.up go.up 3NSGS=REAL join LOC Manaro  
*...they went up and up until they reached Manaro.*

(BB1.082)

- 152) **Ra=mo toa dadari lo vale...**  
 3NSGS=REAL run reach LOC house  
*They ran to (as far as) the house.*

(LTD056)

## 10.6.3.1.5 SIGEI 'CONTINUE'

*Sigei* is the only verb which cannot occur outside an SVC as an independent verb. It must be considered as a verb, rather than an adverb or aspectual marker, as it must always be preceded by the realis particle *mo*. It is generally preceded by *tau* 'yet' (153-154), but this is not always the case (155).

- 153) **Ra=mo toga lolo vale guweu tau mo sigei, mo hage**  
 3NSGS=REAL live in house small yet REAL continue REAL go.up  
**hage hage bongi-ne mo hangavulu.**  
 go.up go.up day-3SGP REAL ten  
*They live in the birthing house still, until it (the baby) is ten days old.*

(MM)

- 154) **Taro qaravu mo eno tau mo sigei.**  
 time long REAL lie yet REAL continue  
*There's still plenty of time left.*

- 155) **Ra=mo vanai mo sigei.**  
 3NSGS=REAL go:to.sp REAL continue  
*They are still coming.*

## 10.6.3.2 MANNER FUNCTION

Apart from specifying aspectual information, an ambient SVC can also give information about the way in which a particular action is performed. The manner ambient SVC is an asymmetrical construction, in which the first verb is always an active verb, and the second verb, which describes the manner, comes from a more restricted subclass of stative-inchoative intransitive verbs. The first verb can be either transitive (156-159) or intransitive (160-163), and this determines the transitivity of the clause as a whole. As the transitive examples show, the two verbs of the SVC are not necessarily contiguous, the object of the first verb occurring before the stative-inchoative verb.

- 156) ...vi=ni      bongi, go=ni      alasi      na      mata-i      turegi-miru  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR night 2SGS=IRR block.up ACC eye-CONST path-2NSG:DL  
 vi=ni      siaga      dene=a...  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR strong ABL=3sgO  
*...when night falls, you must block up the doorway of your house tightly from him...*  
 (SW3)
- 157) ...da=ni      wesi      bibi=e      vi=ni      siaga      huri  
 1NSG:INS=IRR tie tightly=3SGO 3SG.IRRS=IRR strong PURP  
 vi=ni      hi      soi      tea.  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR NEG fall NEG  
*...we'll tie it tightly so that it's strong, so it won't fall down.*  
 (MD007)
- 158) Mo      geli=e      geli=e      geli=e      mo      bue.  
 REAL dig=3SGO dig=3SGO dig=3SGO REAL deep  
*He dug it deep.*  
 (BR049)
- 159) ...go=mo      teve=a      ra=ru      mo      tatarese..  
 2SGS=REAL cut=3SGO 3NSGS=DL REAL same  
*...cut them the same (length)...*  
 (MD015)
- 160) Ne=mese      dige      siaga.  
 2NSG=DEHOR walk hard  
*Don't walk hard.*  
 (BB1.068)
- 161) Mo      gugu      siaga      lu-i      Tagaga      Luku-luku..  
 REAL hold strong on-CONST spider REDUP-roll.up  
*He held tightly onto Tagaga Lukuluku...*  
 (LS1.040)
- 162) Ra=mo      toa      qaravu.  
 3NSGS=REAL run long  
*They ran in a line.*  
 (DM019)

- 163) **Huqe**      **hi-ngaha-hano, da=mo**      **tabana**    **ga-gara-si**  
 pig.killing DEM-this-here 1NSG.INS=REAL work REDUP-hurt-APPL  
**lolo-na...**  
 inside-3SGP

*The pig killing ceremony, we work very hard in it...*

(JH010)

# 11

## Valency change and rearrangement

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### 11.1 INTRODUCTION

The verbal morphology of Ambae is relatively limited, and those derivational processes that are applied are concerned with valency change and rearrangement. There are two processes which, when applied to transitive verbs, produce an intransitive verb. Where an intransitive verb is formed by reduplication, the single argument (S) has the same semantic role as the subject of the transitive verb (A), and an argument which has the same semantic role as the transitive object argument (O) can no longer be expressed within the clause. As the function of this process is to focus on the action of the verb without reference to any specific O argument, it is referred to here as ‘unspecified object deletion’. The other valency-reducing process is the anti-causative, where the S of the derived intransitive verb is an undergoer, corresponding to the semantic role of the O argument of the underived transitive. There is no option in the intransitive clause for specifying an argument which has an agentive role as a causer, which is the role of the A argument of the transitive verb.

There are four morphological processes in Ambae which introduce a new argument into the core. These processes generally increase the valency of a previously intransitive verb, although in some cases, when a transitive verb is affixed, the result is a rearrangement of valency rather than an increase. Two of these processes result in applicative constructions, which allow a previously intransitive verb to take an O argument, the semantic role of the S argument corresponding to that of the A of the new transitive verb. The other two processes are causatives, where an argument which has the same semantic role as the S of the intransitive verb, is the O of the transitive verb, and an agent with the semantic role of causer is introduced as the A argument. While one of the applicative constructions is reasonably productive, the other has a limited number of verbs which demonstrate this morphology. Both types of causative verbs are fairly uncommon, the causative more commonly being expressed by a switch-subject serial verb construction (§10.6.2.3).

The derivational processes are represented in Table 11.1.

Derivation	Marking	Argument transfer
Unspecified object deletion	Reduplication	$A \rightarrow S$ $O \rightarrow \emptyset$
Anti-causative	<i>ma-, ta-</i>	$O \rightarrow S$ $A \rightarrow \emptyset$
Applicative	<i>-(C)i</i>	$S \rightarrow A$ $\emptyset \rightarrow O = \text{semantic patient}$
Applicative	<i>-gi(ni)</i>	$S \rightarrow A$ $\emptyset \rightarrow O = \text{various semantic roles.}$
		Transitive verb = A retained, $O \rightarrow \emptyset, \emptyset \rightarrow O$
Causative	<i>-tagi(ni)</i>	$S \rightarrow O$ $\emptyset \rightarrow A$
Causative	<i>vaga-</i>	$S \rightarrow O$ $\emptyset \rightarrow A$

Table 11.1 Verbal derivations

## 11.2 VALENCY DECREASE

There are two distinct valency-decreasing processes in Ambae, and the choice of which is used determines whether it is the A or O of the transitive verb which corresponds in semantic role to that of the sole argument (S) of the intransitive form of the verb. The two processes are in complementary distribution. Certain verbs are available for detransitivisation whereby the argument which is in A function when the verb is transitive, comes to have the same semantic role as the S of the intransitive verb. This derivation is unspecified object deletion. For other verbs, focus is placed on the O of the transitive verb, as an undergoer, and this is the argument which has the same semantic role as the S of the derived intransitive. This derivation is the anti-causative.

It is necessary to distinguish two different subclasses of transitive verbs, according to their availability for detransitivisation (§4.4.3). The two subclasses are: A-type verbs which, under the derivational process of detransitivisation acquire an S which corresponds to the A argument; and O-type verbs which, when valency is reduced, require an S which corresponds to the O argument (Dixon 1988). The important factor is whether the action of the agent (A-type) or the affectedness of the undergoer (O-type) is seen as being most significant, and thus which participant is linked more closely to the action of the verb.

A large proportion of transitive verbs can be reduced in valency. The subclass of O-type transitives, which have a derived anti-causative, is reasonably small, but the subclass of A-type transitives is a large open subclass. Reduplication to create intransitive verbs which emphasise the action of the verb rather than the affectedness of the object, is highly productive.



In many languages, when processes of valency reduction take place the argument not retained as part of the core can occur as a peripheral argument. In Ambae, however, when a transitive verb is made intransitive, the argument which is removed cannot be referred to within the clause.<sup>1</sup>

### 11.2.1 UNSPECIFIED OBJECT DELETION: REDUPLICATION

Reduplication has many functions in Ambae (§12), including formation of an intransitive verb from an A-type transitive verb. Where an intransitive verb is formed by reduplication, the function is to take an unspecified O argument out of focus. The A of the transitive verb corresponds to the S of the intransitive verb, and an argument which has the same role as the O cannot be referred to, as illustrated by the starred sentence (4). The verbs which can be reduplicated to form intransitives are members of the subclass of A-type transitives, as defined in §4.4.3.2, and therefore transitive verbs such as *wehe* 'to kill' (9 and 10) and *tau* 'to put' (11 and 12), do not have an intransitive form. The intransitive form of the verb can express habitual aspect, where the actor is noted as habitually performing the action of the verb, but reference is not made to the patient, as in (6). Alternatively, intransitivisation simply focuses on the action of the verb, without making reference to a specific object, as in (2).

<i>balu</i>	→ <i>balubelu</i> <sup>2</sup>	'to steal s.t.' → 'to steal (habitually)'
<i>gani</i>	→ <i>gagani</i>	'to eat s.t.' → 'to eat'
<i>hong</i>	→ <i>hohong</i>	'to spit roast s.t.' → 'to spit roast'
<i>kali</i>	→ <i>kalikeli</i>	'to lie to s.o.' → 'to tell lies'
<i>kui</i>	→ <i>kuikui</i>	'to bake s.t. in earth oven' → 'to bake in oven'
<i>rivu</i>	→ <i>ririvu</i>	'to plant s.t.' → 'to plant'
<i>siu</i>	→ <i>sisiu</i>	'to catch s.t. (fish)' → 'to go fishing'
<i>toto</i>	→ <i>tototo</i>	'to hammer s.t.' → 'to hammer'
<i>uli</i>	→ <i>uliuli</i>	'to write s.t.' → 'to write'
<i>vene</i>	→ <i>venevene</i>	'to shoot s.t.' → 'to go shooting'

<sup>1</sup> Dixon and Aikhenvald (1997) state that two derivations found cross-linguistically which remove an argument from the core of the clause are the passive and antipassive derivations. In the passive derivation the O becomes an S and the underlying A becomes a peripheral argument, whereas in the antipassive the A becomes an S and it is the O which is realised as a peripheral argument. The derivations which occur in Ambae cannot be referred to as passive and antipassive because in neither valency reducing derivation can the core argument which is removed be referred to in the derived intransitive clause. Dixon and Aikhenvald note that "[n]o example is known at present of what would be called 'patientless antipassives'", whereby there is a special construction which removes an O from a transitive clause and creates an intransitive clause, but "where the underlying O is obligatorily omitted" (p.74). However, this is exactly the situation which occurs in Ambae and many other Oceanic languages (e.g. Paamese, Vanuatu (Crowley 1982), Fijian (Dixon 1988), Longgu, SE Solomonic (Hill 1992)).

<sup>2</sup> The vowel /a/ is raised to [e] here according to a general vowel height assimilation rule, described in §2.6.5.

- 1) **Go=gani na boe!**  
2SGS=eat ACC pig  
*Eat the pork!*
- 2) **Go=ga-gani!**  
2SGS=REDUP-eat  
*Eat!*
- 3) **\*Go=gani!**  
2SGS=eat  
*Eat!*
- 4) **\*Go=ga-gani na boe!**  
2SGS=REDUP-eat ACC pig  
*Eat the pig!*
- 5) **Ra=mo balu na bula-ra rivu-rivu.**  
3NSGS=REAL steal ACC CL.NAT-3NSGP REDUP-plant  
*They steal/stole their plants.*
- 6) **Ra=mo balu-bel.**  
3NSGS=REAL REDUP-steal  
*They steal/stole.*
- 7) **\*Ra=mo balu.**  
3NSGS=REAL steal  
*They steal/stole.*

Some A-type verbs can take an object when reduplicated but in such cases reduplication has a separate function, as in (8), where it marks the action as being one which is performed habitually (§12.8).

- 8) **Ra=mo balu-bel na bula-ra rivu-rivu.**  
3NSGS=REAL REDUP-steal ACC CL.NAT-3NSGP REDUP-plant  
*They steal their plants (habitually).*
- 9) **Mo wehe=ra.**  
REAL kill=3NSGO  
*He killed them.*

- 10) **\*Mo wehe-wehe.**  
 REAL REDUP-kill  
*\*He killed.*
- 11) **Go=tau na avi!**  
 2SGS=put ACC firewood  
*Put down the firewood!*
- 12) **\*Go=tau-teu!**  
 2SGS=REDUP-put  
*\*Put!*

### 11.2.2 ANTI-CAUSATIVES

There are two anti-causative prefixes in Ambae, *ma-* and *ta-*. Very few verbs can be anti-causativised with *ta-*, and it would appear that, while the prefixes may have had slightly different functions at an earlier stage, as the meaning and function of the two prefixes is equivalent in present day Ambae, *ta-* has been lost as a productive prefix, and *ma-* has taken on the function of both prefixes<sup>3</sup>.

#### 11.2.2.1 MA-

When a transitive verb takes the prefix *ma-* the verb becomes intransitive, and no argument with a role of agent is expressed, or even implied. The process serves to bring the semantic role of the undergoer O argument into focus, as this argument corresponds to the S of the detransitivised verb, as shown in (14).

- 13) **Na=ni bitu na uhi.**  
 1SGS=IRR remove.from.tree ACC pawpaw  
*I'll pick the pawpaw.*
- 14) **Uhi u me-bitu dene na vui-gi.**  
 pawpaw TEL ANTI- remove.from.tree SOURCE ACC trunk-AL  
*The pawpaw fell from the tree.*

The verbs which can be intransitivised in this way are those which are highly transitive (in terms of Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity hierarchy), with an A which has the role of causer. These are O-type verbs, and when the verb is detransitivised, it is "the effect

<sup>3</sup> Both *\*ma-* and *\*ta-* have been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic as 'stative derivative prefixes', by Pawley (1972).

on the referent of O [which] is seen as the most significant aspect” (Dixon 1988:205). The derivation can therefore be described as an anti-causative, as when a verb takes this prefix, the result is that the undergoer role of the O is brought into focus giving it status as the sole argument of the intransitive verb, and the causer role of the A is not expressed. The following are examples of verbs which have an anti-causative form:

<i>volo</i>	‘to break s.t.’	<i>mavolo</i>	‘to break (intr), be broken’
<i>vutu</i>	‘to uproot, dig up s.t.’	<i>mavutu</i>	‘to be uprooted, dug up’
<i>lingi</i>	‘to pour, spill s.t.’	<i>malingi</i>	‘to spill (intr), be spilt’
<i>bitu</i>	‘to pick (fruit)’	<i>mabitu</i>	‘to be picked, fall off tree (of fruit)’
<i>wahe</i>	‘to divide s.t.’	<i>mawahe</i>	‘to divide (intr), be divided’
<i>langa</i>	‘to turn (s.t.) over’	<i>malanga</i>	‘to be turned over’

An intransitive verb derived by affixation with *ma-* enters the subclass of O-type stative-inchoative intransitive verbs. That is, the prefixation serves to derive an intransitive verb which can describe either a state or a process. Therefore with a verb such as *kore* ‘to break s.t.’ (15), the intransitive form *makore* can describe both the state of being broken (16), and the process of something breaking (17), where the S is the undergoer that is being affected by the action of the verb.

- 15)    **Nu            kore   na   gai.**  
          1SGS:TEL break ACC wood  
*I broke the stick.*

- 16)    **Gai    u        ma-kore.**  
          wood TEL   ANTI-break  
*The stick is broken.*

- 17)    **Ga=mo            kalo-kalo        lo   gai,   gai   mo   maraga   mo**  
          INSG.EXS=REAL REDUP-climb LOC tree   tree   REAL get.up   REAL  
          **ma-kore.**  
          ANTI-break  
*We were climbing in the tree, and then the tree (branch) broke.*

*Ma-* derivations are similar to a passive, in that in both cases, the effect of the verb’s action on the O is focussed on, and it is an argument with the undergoer role which is the sole argument of the intransitive verb. However, unlike the passive construction, it is not possible for a *ma-* derivation to refer to an agentive force, as in English, ‘The branch was broken by the children’. Rather, the anti-causative describes a spontaneous event, and thus there is no agency implied. So in (19), it is not possible to interpret this sentence as meaning *The trees were uprooted* (by an unspecified agent). In fact, the sentence refers to

an event (which could have been a hurricane) during which the trees fell down, for which there is no recognised agentive force.

- 18) **Langi u vutu na matui.**  
 wind TEL uproot ACC coconut  
*The wind uprooted the coconut tree.*

- 19) **Gai ra=mo ma-vutu.**  
 tree 3NSGS=REAL ANTI-uproot  
*The trees (were) uprooted.*

- 20) **Matui u me-vutu.**  
 coconut TEL ANTI-uproot  
*The coconut tree has been uprooted.*

#### 11.2.2.2 TA-

*Ta-* is no longer a productive prefix, as it has only been noted in my data as occurring on three verbs. Two of these, *tugi* 'to cause to fall down' (21-23), and *visa* 'to split' (24-26) also take the prefix *ma-* with no observed difference in meaning; the other, *waga* 'to split open', cannot take the prefix *ma-*, but the derived intransitive verb is also an anti-causative (27-28).

- 21) **...mo vara tugi na malo-na.**  
 REAL stamp make.fall ACC loincloth-3SGP  
*...he stepped on his loincloth and made it fall down.*

(EK105)

- 22) **...malo-na mo ma-tugi.**  
 loincloth-3SGP REAL ANTI-make.fall  
*...his loincloth fell down.*

(EK109)

- 23) **Kalasi u soi, mo ta-tugi roto.**  
 glass TEL fall REAL ANTI-make.fall break  
*The glass fell, and it fell down and broke.*

- 24) **Da=mo tai visa na avi.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL chop split ACC firewood  
*We split the firewood (by chopping it).*

- 25) **Avi u me-visa.**  
 firewood TEL ANTI-split  
*The firewood is split.*
- 26) **Gai u te-visa.**  
 wood TEL ANTI-split  
*The wood/tree is split.*
- 27) **Na=ni tei waga na qatu-mu.**  
 1SGS=IRR chop split.open ACC head-2SGP  
*I'll chop your head open.*
- 28) **No-na bogis mo ta-waga.**  
 CL.GEN-3SGP box REAL ANTI-split.open  
*Her box split open.*

### 11.3 VALENCY INCREASE

There are two main types of affixes which derive transitive verbs: applicatives, which involve the introduction of a new O; and causatives, which involve the introduction of a new A.

Applicative:	$S \rightarrow A, \emptyset \rightarrow O$
Causative:	$S \rightarrow O, \emptyset \rightarrow A$

There are two applicative suffixes, *-Ci* and *-gi(ni)*, and two causative affixes, *vaga-* and *-tagi*. Of these argument-adding affixes, only *-gi(ni)* is productive, the others having limited use.

While a causative affix cannot occur on a verb which is already transitive, the applicative suffix, *-gi(ni)*, can occur on some transitive verbs. When this happens the verb retains its valency of two but it is not possible to have an O argument which has the same semantic role as the O of the underived verb. Instead there is an O argument which has a different semantic role.

#### 11.3.1 APPLICATIVES

There are two suffixes, *-Ci* and *-gi(ni)*, that allow a verb which is intransitive in its underived form to take an O argument, thus increasing the valency of the verb from one to

two<sup>4</sup>. *-gi(ni)* can also occur on transitive verbs, serving to rearrange rather than increase the valency (§11.4.1), but this is quite uncommon, and the resulting meaning is always idiomatic. However, the invariant function of *-gi(ni)* is not to increase valency, but to enable a verb to take an O with a specific semantic role, which the verb cannot take in its underived form.

### 11.3.1.1 -Ci

The suffix *-Ci* allows a previously intransitive verb to take an O argument which generally has the semantic role of patient.

- 29) **Re maresu! Ne=mo laka!**  
 PL children 2NSGS=REAL make.noise  
*Kids! You're being noisy!*

- 30) **Ne=mo laka-si netu-ku mo rada.**  
 2NSGS=REAL make.noise-APPL child-1SGP REAL wake  
*You disturbed my baby, making him wake up.*

While in most cases the O of the verb suffixed with *-Ci* is a patient, other semantic roles are possible. For example, the transitive form of the verbs *tangi* and *ngara*, both meaning 'to cry' are *tangihi* and *ngarahi* which both mean 'to cry for someone', and can be only used when the stimulus, the person being cried for, is someone who is dead, or who the actor does not believe s/he will see again.

- 31) **Gamai ga=u vano ga=u ngara-hi Manley u mate.**  
 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=TEL go 1NSG.EXS=TEL cry-APPL Manley TEL die  
*We went and cried for Manley who is dead.*

- 32) **No=mo tangi-hi=go bana go=mo mule, bataha**  
 1SGS=REAL cry-APPL=2SGO because 2SGS=REAL go.home I.think  
**go=ni hi dadari tea Vanuatu taligu.**  
 2SGS=IRR NEG arrive NEG Vanuatu again  
*I am crying for you because you are going home, and I don't think you'll come back to Vanuatu again.*

The suffix *-Ci* can occur in one of the following forms: *-hi*, *-li*, *-ni*, *-ngi*, *-ri*, *-si*, or *-vi*. The *C* represents a thematic consonant. The question arises whether the thematic consonant marks a particular semantic role of the O, or whether certain semantic classes of verbs take

<sup>4</sup> *-Ci* is clearly a reflex of Proto Oceanic *\*-i*, reconstructed as a 'close transitive suffix' by Pawley (1973). However, *-gi(ni)* could reflect either the reconstructed 'remote transitive suffix' *\*-aki(ni)*, or the verb-like preposition *\*kini*, reconstructed by Pawley (1972) as an instrumental preposition.

a particular thematic consonant.<sup>5</sup> In general, the answer is no. However, a few correlations have been noted. An example of a small group of verbs which take the same thematic consonant and do form a semantic class of verbs are the following, where the agent is acting with some force on the patient: *wakari* 'to scratch (s.o.)', *takari* 'to scratch (oneself, as in mosquito bite, etc.)', *tigeri* 'to punch', and *buguri* 'to pelt (s.o.)'.

- 33)     **Maresu guwerigi mo waka-ri=eu                    gene bisu-ne.**  
          child    small       REAL scratch-APPL=1SGO INST finger-3SGP  
          *The baby scratched me with her finger nails.*

Likewise, the suffix *-ni* occurs on a number of meteorological verbs.

- ahoni*        'to shine on (of sun)'  
*ahuni*        'to blow smoke on (of fire)'  
*uheni*        'to rain on'

Either *-si* or *-hi* occurs on verbs of excretion/secretion (see also §11.3.1.3).

- dedesi*        'to defecate on'  
*lodosi*        'to spit on'  
*luehi*         'to vomit on'  
*mimihi*        'to urinate on'

There is only one verb stem, *susu-*, which occurs with two different thematic consonants, with the resultant forms *susuri* 'to push (s.t.) into or underneath (s.t.)' (34), and *susuni* 'to push (s.t.) along' (35).

- 34)     **Go=susu-ri            na bue    tau vano lo    vava-i            bata.**  
          2SGS=push-APPL ACC knife LOC go    LOC under-CONST bed  
          *Push the knife underneath the bed.*

- 35)     **Mo    susu-ni        na bula-na                    mwoso-mwoso.**  
          REAL push-APPL ACC CL.GEN-3SGP REDUP-play  
          *He pushed his toy along.*

*-Ci* is no longer productive in Ambae, and does not occur on a large number of verbs. Many of the transitive verbs which end in *-Ci* have no intransitive form in the modern language.

- buguri*        'to throw (s.t.) at'        *\*bugu*  
*barosi*        'to reprimand'            *\*baro*  
*sikeli*         'to touch'                 *\*sike*

<sup>5</sup> The thematic consonants generally reflect root final consonants of Proto Oceanic, which have been reanalysed as part of the suffix *\*-i*.



## 11.3.1.2 -GI(NI)

-gi(ni) is the productive applicative suffix in Ambae. There are certain common semantic roles which can be assigned to the O, such as patient (37), goal (38), comitative (40) and purposive (42), but for most verbs it is not possible to predict, on the basis of the meaning of the underived verb, what the semantic role of the applied object of any verb will be.

- 36) ...wai laque mo hale vage.  
creek big REAL flow too  
...a big creek was running too.

(AH022)

- 37) A tahi mo hale-gini=e mo vano lo aka-i Tagaro.  
NOM sea REAL flow-APPL=3SGO REAL go LOC canoe-CONST Tagaro  
The sea was carrying (flowing) them to Tagaro's canoe.

(EK068)

- 38) Da=mo hala-gi na laveti.  
1NSG.INS=REAL go.for-APPL ACC celebration  
We went for a celebration.

- 39) Mo mwoso-mwoso lolo vale.  
REAL REDUP-play in house  
S/he is playing in the house.

- 40) Siseringaha bataha ra=ru mo mwoso-mwoso-gini=e lolo  
now I.think 3NSGS=DL REAL REDUP-play-APPL=3SGO in  
vale-ra.  
house-3NSGP  
Now, I think that they are playing with him in their house.

(LD037)

- 41) Ngire mwalakelo ra=mo qalo tamwere.  
3NSG youth 3NSGS=REAL fight always  
Those young people are always fighting.

- 42) Neu nu qalo-gi na vanua-da vano vano mo tamwata.  
1SG 1SGS:TEL fight-APPL ACC land-1NSG.INP go go REAL peace  
I fought for our land until there was peace.

(LTD069)

Note from the previous examples (37, 40, 42) that the variation in the form of the suffix is conditioned by the form in which the O argument is expressed. If the O is a third person

object enclitic, then the form is *-gini* (43). In all other cases, where there is an overt O NP (44) or a first person singular enclitic, the form is *-gi* (45). While there is a second person singular O enclitic which occurs on inherently transitive verbs, when a verb is suffixed with *-gi(ni)*, the second singular O must be realised as an independent pronoun (46), not as an O enclitic (47). That the O is an independent pronoun is clear not only from the slight difference in the form, but also from the stress patterns.

- 43) **Go=siregini=re!**  
 2SGS=let.go:APPL=3NSGO  
*Let go of them!*
- 44) **Mo siregi na garo.**  
 REAL let.go:APPL ACC rope  
*S/he let go of the rope.*
- 45) **Tama-i netu-ku mo siregi=eu.**  
 father-CONST child-1SGP REAL let.go:APPL=1SGO  
*My husband abandoned (let go of) me.*
- 46) **Vi=ni mese siregi niko.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR DEHOR let.go:APPL 2SG  
*S/he will/must/should not let go of you.*
- 47) **\*Vi=ni mese siregini=go.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR DEHOR let.go:APPL=2SGO  
*S/he will/must/should not let go of you.*

For a number of verbs the applied object can have more than one semantic role. For example, the verb *hili* 'to hide' (48), when suffixed with *-gi(ni)* can take an O which is either an undergoer, the thing which is being hidden (49), or, the stimulus, someone who is being hidden from (50).

- 48) **Mo hili, mo leo ra=ru mo hage...**  
 REAL hide REAL see 3NSGS=DL REAL go.up  
*He hid and saw the two of them go up...*

(MTT050)

- 49) **...mo tule-gi hili-gi lolo labute.**  
 REAL bury-APPL hide-APPL in bush  
*...he hid him in the bush by burying him.*

(LTD006)

- 50) **Mo hage lo turegi mo hili-gini=re.**  
 REAL go.up LOC road REAL hide-APPL=3NSGO  
*He went up on the road and hid from them.*

(MTT049)

In some cases, the applicative suffix not only introduces a new O with a different semantic role, but considerably affects the meaning of the derived verb. The two verb forms are clearly related in meaning, but the difference cannot be attributed simply to a difference in their valencies. For example, when the intransitive verb *vora* 'to be born' (51) is suffixed with *-gi(ni)* the meaning of the derived transitive verb is, 'to become' (52). There are many such idiomatic derivations, such as *gato* 'to speak' (53), which, when applicativised means not merely to speak to someone (this role is expressed using the comitative preposition *me*), but, 'to reprimand, or speak angrily to someone' (54). In the Longana dialect 'to be pregnant' is expressed by suffixation of the verb *nio* 'to stay' (55), to yield a comitative reading (55).

- 51) **Netu-mu u vora tagaha?**  
 child-2SGP TEL born when  
*When was your baby born?*

- 52) **Ga=u wehe na boe, ale ga=u vora-gi retahigi.**  
 1NSG.EXS=TEL kill ACC pig so 1NSG.EXS=TEL born-APPL chief  
*We killed pigs, and so we became chiefs.*

(AD019)

- 53) **Mo gato samwegi.**  
 REAL speak not.able  
*S/he is unable to speak.*

- 54) **Retahi-ku mo gato-gi=eu.**  
 mother-1SGP REAL speak-APPL=1SGO  
*My mother told me off.*

- 55) **Tangaloi ra=mo nio?**  
 people 3NSGS=REAL stay  
*Is there anyone here?*

- 56) **Mo nio-gi na maresu.**  
 REAL stay-APPL ACC child  
*She is pregnant (she is with child).*

There is one exception in the data to the generalisation that *-gi(ni)* is an applicative suffix, whereby the intransitive S corresponds to the transitive A. When the verb *walau* ‘to move along (as in a boat, plane)’ is made transitive by this suffix, it is the O of the transitive verb which has the same semantic role as the S, the thing which moves along.

- 57) **Aka mo walau lo-lo tahi.**  
 canoe REAL move.along REDUP-LOC sea  
*The canoe is/was moving along on the sea.*

- 58) **...ra=u walau-gi na aka-ra, ra=mo hage**  
 3NSGS=TEL move.along-APPL ACC canoe-3NSGP 3NSGS=REAL go.up  
**Maewo...**  
 Maewo  
*...they paddled their canoes and went up to Maewo...*

(AA002)

There are many verbs suffixed with *-gi(ni)* which have no intransitive form:

<i>galuvegi</i>	‘to forget’	* <i>galuve</i>
<i>siregi</i>	‘to let go of’	* <i>sire</i>
<i>sogagi</i>	‘to sell’	* <i>soga</i>
<i>tulegi</i>	‘to bury’	* <i>tule</i>
<i>vihogi</i>	‘to dry’	* <i>viho</i>

### 11.3.1.2.1 MOTION VERBS

Although in general the semantic role of the applied object is not predictable, and it is not generally the case that certain types of verbs have derived objects with a specific semantic role, there are a few exceptions. These are speech and mental process verbs (§11.3.1.2.2), verbs of excretion/secretion (§11.3.1.3), and verbs of motion, including the directionals, *vano* ‘to go’, *hage* ‘to go up’, and *hivo* ‘to go down’. Motion verbs can never take the *-Ci* suffix, but all can take *-gi(ni)*, and in this case the applied object will be in a ‘transportative’ role, where it is something which is taken along by the A. This covers movement carrying an object, as in (59-61), and situations as in (62), where both the agent and object are engaged in the same activity, but the agent is seen to have some kind of control over the activity of the object.

- 59) **Go=mese toa-gi na here!**  
 2SGS=DEHOR run-APPL ACC coco.torch  
*Don’t run off with the coconut leaf torch!*

- 60) **Go=ni bitu na vuhe, ale go=ni hivo-gini=e.**  
 2SGS=IRR pick ACC coconut so 2SGS=IRR go.down-APPL=3SGO  
*You will pick the green coconut(s) and then come down with it (them).*
- 61) **Mo vano-gi na bue vano vano mo bongi.**  
 REAL go-APPL ACC knife go go REAL night  
*He went away with the knife until nightfall.*
- 62) **Catriona mo dige-gi gide siaga.**  
 Catriona REAL walk-APPL 1NSG.IN hard  
*Catriona walks us too hard.*

With regard to the directional verbs, only the unmarked forms, specified for direction away from the speaker, can be transitivised, not the directional verbs marked for movement towards the speaker, or movement towards the addressee (§8).

- 63) **U vano-gi na no-ku mane.**  
 TEL go-APPL ACC CL.GEN-1SGP money  
*She went off with my money.*
- 64) **\*U vanai/ vanatu-gi na no-ku mane.**  
 TEL go:to.sp/ go:DIR -APPL ACC CL.GEN-1SGP money  
*She came/went to you with my money.*

When the basic motion verbs *hage* 'go up', and *hivo* 'go down' are transitivised, the resultant forms can also have a metaphorical meaning. Thus the definition 'to lower/raise' could mean to physically raise/lower something, or to raise/lower a price (65-66), or to somehow affect the mental state or status of the object, and so to dishonour someone (67), or to humble or exalt oneself or others.

- 65) **Ra=mo hage-gi na voli-voli lague lawagi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.up-APPL ACC REDUP-buy big too.much  
*They raised the bride price too much.*
- 66) **Ra=mo hivo-gi na mane lako-lako.**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.down ACC money goods-REDUP  
*They lowered the money for goods.*
- 67) **Maresu ngihie mo hivo-gi i tama-na.**  
 child that REAL go.down-APPL PERS father-3SGP  
*That child dishonoured his father.*

## 11.3.1.2.2 SPEECH AND COGNITION VERBS

The other class of verbs for which the semantic role of the applied object is predictable is the speech act and cognition verbs. These verbs share the property that the semantic role of the applied object is the topic which is being spoken or thought 'about'.

- 68)    **...ra=ru        mo   laqa   mo   rovo...**  
          3NSGS=DL   REAL   speak   REAL   finish  
          *...the two of them had finished talking, and...*

(EK077)

- 69)    **Ga=ni        laqa-gi        na   gineu.**  
          1NSG.EXS=IRR   speak-APPL   ACC   thing  
          *We will talk about some things.*

(RG015)

- 70)    **Da=ni        domi-gi        na   problem   ngihie.**  
          1NSG.INS=IRR   think-APPL   ACC   problem   that  
          *We should think about the problem.*

One example of a speech act verb *stori* 'to chat, gossip, tell a story' demonstrates both the productiveness of the *-gi(ni)* suffix, and the predictability of the semantic role of the applied object with speech verbs. The verb is borrowed from Bislama *storian* 'to chat, gossip, tell a story', and with the applicative suffix means 'to chat/gossip/tell a story about something'.

- 71)    **Da=stori!**  
          1NSG.INS=chat  
          *Let's chat!*

- 72)    **Ale   siseringaha   no=mo        tarani   vo   na=ni        stori-gi**  
          so   now                   1SGS=REAL   want   say   1SGS=IRR   tell.story-APPL  
          **na   langi   ue.**  
          ACC   wind   kill  
          *So, now I want to talk about the hurricane.*

(AH001)

## 11.3.1.3 VERBS WHICH CAN TAKE EITHER APPLICATIVE SUFFIX

Very few verbs have a form with both a *-Ci* and a *-gi(ni)* suffix, the notable exceptions being the meteorological verbs, and verbs of excretion/secretion. Not only can these verbs

take either suffix, but they also demonstrate a regularity in the nature of the semantic role of the applied object of both suffixes. If the verb takes the suffix *-Ci* then the derived object is a patient, as is usually the case with this suffix, and the patient can be characterised as an undergoer, 'that which is Ved on'.

- 73) **Mo uhe.**  
REAL rain  
*It is raining.*
- 74) **Mo uhe-ni na bula-da rivu-rivu.**  
REAL rain-APPL ACC CL.NAT-1NSG.INP REDUP-plant  
*It is raining on our plants.*
- 75) **Go=mese lodo!**  
2SGS=DEHOR spit  
*Don't spit!*
- 76) **No=mo lodo-si na boe.**  
1SGS=REAL spit-APPL ACC pig  
*I spat on the pig.*
- 77) **Mo=vo na=deo.**  
REAL=say 3SGS=shit  
*She needs to shit.*
- 78) **Netu-mu u de-deo-si na simenti.**  
offspring-2SGP TEL REDUP-shit-APPL ACC cement  
*Your baby shat on the cement floor.*

Where the verb takes the *-gi(ni)* suffix, the derived object is a non-cognate object. That is, the O referent is a product of the action of the verb which is other than what would normally be expected to be produced.

- 79) **Mo havu na toa, siu no=mo lehe mwere vo mo**  
REAL pluck ACC chicken CONJ 1SGS=REAL see like say REAL  
**uhe-gi na vulu-i toa.**  
rain-APPL ACC feather-CONST chicken  
*She plucked the chicken, and then it looked as if it was raining chicken feathers.*
- 80) **Mo lodo-gi na ga-na hinaga tau lu-ku.**  
REAL spit-APPL ACC CL.FOOD-3SGP food LOC on-1SGP  
*He spat his food onto me.*

- 81) **Go=lodo-gi vohogi na watu!**  
 2SGS=spit-APPL completely ACC stone  
*Spit out the stone!*
- 82) **Maresu biti mo deo-gi na siloti.**  
 child small REAL shit-APPL REAL WORM  
*The baby shat out worms.*
- 83) **Nu mebu-gi na lango.**  
 1SGS:TEL breathe-APPL ACC fly  
*I breathed in a fly.*

Meteorological verbs	-Ci	-gi(ni)
<i>aho</i> 'to be sunny'	<i>ahoni</i> 'to shine on s.o. (of sun)'	<i>ahogi</i> - only in expression <i>mo ahogi na havai?</i> Why is it sunny?
<i>ahu</i> 'to smoke (of fire)'	<i>ahuni</i> 'to blow smoke on (s.o.) (of fire)'	<i>ahugi</i> 'to smoke' (i.e. dry copra)
<i>here</i> 'to blow (of wind)'	X	<i>heregi</i> 'to blow s.t./s.o. (of wind)'
<i>kuku</i> 'to smoke (of fire)'	<i>kukuhi</i> 'to blow smoke on (s.o.) (of fire)'	<i>kukugi</i> 'to blow smoke on (s.o.) (of fire)'
<i>mwamwavi</i> 'to be hot'	X	<i>mwamwavigi</i> 'to make s.o. hot'
<i>uhe</i> 'to rain'	<i>uheni</i> 'to rain on s.o./s.t.'	<i>uhegi</i> 'to rain (e.g. mud, feathers)', and in the expression, <i>Mo uhegi na havai?</i> Why is it raining?
Excretion/secretion verbs		
<i>deo</i> 'to shit'	<i>dedeosi</i> 'to shit on s.o./s.t.'	<i>deogi</i> 'to excrete s.t.'
<i>lodo</i> 'to spit'	<i>lodosi</i> 'to spit on s.o./s.t.'	<i>lodogi</i> 'to spit s.t. out'
<i>lue</i> 'to vomit'	<i>luehi</i> 'to vomit on s.o./s.t.'	<i>luegi</i> 'to throw s.t. up, spit s.t. out'
<i>mabu</i> 'to breathe'	X	<i>mabugi</i> 'breathe in (s.t. other than fresh air)'
<i>mimi</i> 'to urinate'	<i>mimihi</i> 'to urinate on s.o.'	<i>mimigi</i> 'to urinate s.t. (e.g. blood)'
<i>ngara</i> 'to cry'	<i>ngarahi</i> 'to cry for s.o.' (only if dead, or will not be seen again)	<i>ngaragi</i> 'to cry about s.t.'
<i>tangi</i> 'to cry'	<i>tangihi</i> 'to cry for s.o.' (only if dead, or will not be seen again)	X

Table 11.2 Verbs which take both -Ci and -gi(ni) suffixes



There are exceptions to these generalisations, as can be seen in Table 11.2. For example, the verb *here* 'to blow' does not take the *-Ci* suffix, and when it takes the *-gi(ni)* suffix, the derived object is either a patient (85), or a non-cognate object (86), either something which is blown on, or that which is blown along. Also note that sentence (86) is an example of a cause-effect serial verb construction, and as verbs in this type of serial verb construction must agree in transitivity (§10.5.1), if they are both unmarked intransitives then they must both be marked with *-gi(ni)* to indicate an increase in transitivity.

- 84) **Langi mo here.**  
 wind REAL blow  
*The wind is blowing.*
- 85) **Langi mo here-gi na nago-ku.**  
 wind REAL blow-APPL ACC face-1SGP  
*The wind is blowing on/in my face.*
- 86) **Langi mo here-gi sala-gi na gavu-de.**  
 wind REAL blow-APPL lose-APPL ACC clothes-1NSG.INP  
*The wind blew away our clothes.*

When the two meteorological verbs, *uhe* 'to rain' and *aho* 'to be sunny', take the suffix *-gi(ni)* this also serves to form an idiomatic expression, 'Why is it raining/sunny?'

- 87) **Mo uhe-gi na havai?**  
 REAL rain-APPL ACC what  
*Why is it raining?* (i.e. the speaker did not expect it to rain, and wonders whether it is raining because some people made magic, or because someone died.)
- 88) **Mo aho-gi na havai?**  
 REAL be.sunny-APPL ACC what  
*Why is it sunny?* (i.e. the speaker expected it to rain, and is expressing surprise that it is sunny with this rhetorical question.)

Generally the applicative construction allows a verb to take a core argument which could otherwise not be referred to within the clause either as a core or an oblique argument. The only observed exception is with the verbs of excretion/secretion, where the argument which occurs as the object when the verb is suffixed with *-Ci* (89), could also be expressed as an oblique locative argument (90).

- 89) **Vi=ni lue-hi=go.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR vomit-APPL=2SGO  
*S/he will vomit on you.*
- 90) **Vi=ni lue tau lu-mu.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR vomit LOC on-2SGP  
*S/he will vomit on you.*

Finally, an extreme example of a verb which can take both suffixes is *garu* ‘to swim, bathe’. This verb is usually reduplicated in its intransitive form, as in (91), which reflects the inherently durative nature of the action of swimming or bathing. The suffixed form *garuhi* can mean either ‘to bathe’, as in bathing a child (92), or ‘to splash’, as in having a water fight, or splashing someone with any type of liquid (93). Both the unreduplicated and reduplicated intransitive forms can be suffixed with *-gi(ni)*, and in the former case the object is something which is swum with (94), while the latter is used to refer to someone swimming or bathing in clothes (95). This example demonstrates well the flexibility in the use of the applicative suffixes, and the variation which can be found in the semantic role of the applied objects.

- 91) **Nu ga-garu lolo wai.**  
 1SGS:TEL REDUP-swim in water  
*I swam (bathed) in the creek.*
- 92) **Na=ni geru-hi netu-ku.**  
 1SGS=IRR bathe-APPL child-1SGP  
*I'll bathe my child.*
- 93) **Mo garu-hi=eu gene tahi.**  
 REAL bathe-APPL=1SGO INST sea  
*S/he splashed me with seawater.*
- 94) **Will mo garu-gi na gavu-ne.**  
 Will REAL swim-APPL ACC clothes-3SGP  
*Will is swimming holding onto his clothes.*
- 95) **Will mo ga-garu-gi na gavu-ne.**  
 Will REAL REDUP-swim-APPL ACC clothes-3SGP  
*Will is swimming (or bathing) in his clothes.*

### 11.3.2 CAUSATIVES

There are three causative constructions in Ambae. Two of these involve derivational processes, with affixation on the verb, the third being a switch-subject serial verb

construction with one of the verbs *vai* or *loli*, both meaning 'to make', as the first verb in the series (§10.6.2.3). The two morphological causatives have limited use, the periphrastic causative being the more common way of expressing a causative relationship. The causative affixes are only used on verbs where the undergoer has low volitionality, and limited control over the action of the verb.

### 11.3.2.1 -TAGI(NI)<sup>6</sup>

There are only four examples in the data set of intransitive verbs which can be suffixed with the causative *-tagi(ni)*, all of which are exemplified below. In all cases the intransitive verb has an undergoer S, and suffixation introduces a causer as the A argument, which acts on the undergoer O to bring it into a state. As with *-gi(ni)*, the variation in the form of the suffix is dependent on the form of the O. *-tagini* is the form which occurs when a third person object enclitic is attached (99), otherwise the form is *-tagi*.

<i>dule</i>	'to hang'	<i>duletagi</i>	'to hang s.t.'
<i>labe</i>	'to stand'	<i>labetagi</i>	'to stand s.t. up'
<i>saka</i>	'to go on top of'	<i>sakatagi</i>	'to put s.t. on top of'
<i>bulu</i>	'to join'	<i>bulutegi</i>	'to join together'

- 96) **Beru-i bata-ra ngaha mo labe me na qana-ra ngaha**  
 post-CONST bed-3NSGP this REAL stand and ACC mat-3NSGP this  
**mo dule.**  
 REAL hang

*Their bedpost is standing up and their mat (curtain) is hanging.*

(LD007)

- 97) **Mo rovo, da=mo labe-tag na qetu-qetu-gi.**  
 REAL finish 1NSG.INS=REAL stand-CAUS ACC REDUP-wall-AL  
*After, we stand up the walls.*

(SBH034)

- 98) **Ale ra=ru mo toga mo vano vano mata-ni-aho mo hage**  
 so 3NSGS=DL REAL sit REAL go go eye-CONST-sun REAL go.up  
**huri mo saka lo vusi.**  
 PURP REAL go.down LOC hill

*So the two of them stayed until the sun went up to go down on (set behind) the hill.*

(EK080)

<sup>6</sup> *-tagi(ni)* is a reflex of the Proto Oceanic 'remote transitive' suffix *\*-aki(ni)* (Pawley 1973).

- 99) **...ale mo lai na garo ngihie mo saka-tagini=e lo watu**  
 so REAL take ACC rope that REAL go.down-CAUS=3SGO LOC stone  
**ngihie, vine ngihie...**  
 that down that  
*...then he took the rope and put it down on top of the stone...*  
 (RTR008)
- 100) **Hi bulu tea me-na sinobu...**  
 NEG join NEG COM-ACC people  
*He doesn't join with all the people...*  
 (FRT018)
- 101) **Ale sinobu mwere mo vomai mo bulu-tegi na**  
 so many.people like REAL come REAL join-CAUS ACC  
**no-ra domi-ana, mo bulu-tegi na huire, mo bulu-tegi**  
 CL.GEN-3NSGP think-NR REAL join-CAUS ACC strength REAL join-CAUS  
**na no-ra vai garea.**  
 ACC CL.GEN-3NSGP do good  
*So, lots of people come and join their thinking, and join their strength, and join their good deeds.*  
 (JH011)

The only other verb which *-tagi(ni)* can occur on is the transitive verb *rongo* 'to hear'. In this case the meaning is quite different to the causative function which the suffix has when it occurs on an intransitive verb. The verb is reduplicated as well as being suffixed, and the valency is not altered. The roles of the core arguments are also unchanged, but the meaning of the verb is changed to 'to listen', and the agent becomes a more volitional, controlling actor.

*rongo* 'to hear'                      *rorongotagi* 'listen to'

- 102) **Mo toga mo rongo na tigo Hagova.**  
 REAL sit REAL hear ACC dance Hagova  
*He sat and heard the 'Tigo' dance at Hagova.*  
 (DM008)
- 103) **Ra=ru mo ro-rongo-tag i mo hamai.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL REDUP-hear-CAUS REAL go.up:to.sp  
*The two of them listened to it coming up.*  
 (DTT020)

11.3.2.2 *VAGA*<sup>7</sup>

The causative prefix *vaga-* derives transitive verbs from O-type stative-inchoative intransitive verbs, and, like *-tagi(ni)*, introduces a new subject which has a semantic role of causer, the S of the intransitive verb becoming the O of the derived transitive form. This prefix also has very limited application, occurring only on a small number of verbs where the causee has no control over the action of the verb. However, its semi-productive status is evidenced by the occurrence of the prefix on the borrowed verb *titi* 'to be breastfed'. Following is an exhaustive list of the verbs known to have *vaga-* derivations:

<i>horo</i>	'to fill up'	<i>vagahorongi</i>	'to fill up s.t.'
<i>iloilo</i>	'to be knowledgeable'	<i>vagailoilo</i>	'to make s.o. know'
<i>lenga</i>	'to be crazy, naughty'	<i>vagalengai</i>	'to make s.o. crazy'
<i>mate</i>	'to die'	<i>vagamate</i>	'to make s.o./s.t. die'
<i>mwasara</i>	'to be clean'	<i>vagamwasara(gi)</i>	'to cleanse'
<i>mwaso</i>	'to live'	<i>vagamwaso</i>	'to heal, make live'
<i>rada</i>	'to be awake'	<i>vagaradasi</i>	'to waken'
<i>rarai</i>	'to be ready'	<i>vagararai</i>	'to prepare'
<i>sala</i>	'to be lost'	<i>vagasalagi</i>	'to lose s.t.'
<i>titi</i>	'to be breastfed'	<i>vagatiti</i>	'to breastfeed'

- 104) **Maresu ngihie mo lenga.**  
 child that REAL crazy/naughty  
*That child is crazy/naughty.*

- 105) **Mo vaga-lenga-i na qatu-de.**  
 REAL CAUS-crazy-APPL ACC head-1NSG.INP  
*He makes our thoughts confused.*

- 106) **Mo lehe ra=u mate dolegi.**  
 REAL see 3NSGS=TEL dead all  
*He saw that they were all dead.*

(JTT042)

- 107) **Ale go=vaga-mate na avi-gi...**  
 so 2SGS=CAUS-die ACC fire-ASS  
*Then put out the fire...*

(MD060)

<sup>7</sup> *vaga-* is a reflex of one of the causative prefixes which has been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic, *\*paka* (Pawley 1973).

- 108) **Bule-ku ring u sala.**  
 CL.NAT-1SGP ring TEL lost  
*My ring is lost.*
- 109) **Gu vaga-sala-gi na bule-ku ring.**  
 2SGS:TEL CAUS-lost-APPL ACC CL.NAT-1SGP ring  
*You lost my ring.*

Note that some of the verbs which take the causative prefix *vaga-* are also suffixed with *-gi(ni)* or *-Ci* in their derived causative form (e.g. 105 and 109), in which instance the suffixes clearly do not have an applicative function.

#### 11.3.2.2.1 VAGA- ON NUMERALS

The causative prefix can occur on numerals and the quantifier *sao* ‘many’ with a multiplicative function, to express the fact that someone has performed an action a certain number of times. The derived form can function either as an active intransitive verb (110) or as a verb modifier (111).

- 110) **Vi=ni vaga-tolu.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR CAUS-three  
*S/he will do it for a third time.*
- 111) **Tama-i netu-ne mo wehe=a vaga-sao.**  
 father-CONST offspring-3SGP REAL hit=3SGO CAUS-many  
*Her husband hit(s) her many times.*

### 11.4 VALENCY REARRANGEMENT

#### 11.4.1 TRANSITIVE VERBS WHICH TAKE *-GI(NI)*.

The applicative suffix *-gi(ni)* can occur on a few transitive verbs, in which case the O of the derived verb has a semantic role which is different from that of the O of the underived verb.

- 112) **No=mo hui na tangaloi.**  
 1SGS=REAL ask ACC people  
*I asked the people.*
- 113) **Ra=mo hui-gi na maraha.**  
 3NSGS=REAL ask-APPL ACC k.o.mat  
*They asked about the ‘maraha’ mats.*

This derivational process, in which *-gi(ni)* is added to a transitive verb, produces verbs which are very idiomatic, resulting not only in a difference in the semantic role of the applied object, but also, in many cases, an extension of the meaning of the original verb. Table 11.3 lists such verbs, with definitions of both the unmarked and the derived transitive verbs.

Underived transitive	Transitive + <i>-gi</i>
<i>bete</i> 'to give'	<i>betegi</i> 'to share out (s.t.)'
<i>hora</i> 'to send (s.t.), to send s.o. to do (s.t.)'	<i>horagi</i> 'to give s.t. (belonging to yourself to someone else as theirs)'
<i>hui</i> 'to ask (s.o.)'	<i>huigi</i> 'to ask about s.t.'
<i>tugu</i> 'to pull'	<i>tugusi</i> 'to lead (i.e. pull on rope)'
<i>veve</i> 'to say, tell'	<i>vevegi</i> 'to talk about s.o., gossip'
<i>ware</i> 'to call (s.o.)'	<i>waregi</i> 'to announce (s.t.)', 'to call (s.o., a place) (s.t.)'
<i>woro</i> 'to squeeze coconut for milk'	<i>worogi</i> 'to squeeze coconut milk onto food', 'to put coconut milk on child's lips at naming ceremony, to name child (ceremonially)'

Table 11.3 Transitive verbs which take the applicative suffix *-gi(ni)*

There are two transitive verbs which allow two distinct semantic roles for the applied object when marked with the applicative suffix *-gi(ni)*. In its unmarked transitive form, the object of *ware* 'to call' is the person (or animal) who is being called. When *-gi(ni)* is suffixed, the meaning of the verb is extended in either of two ways, as in (115), where the meaning of the verb is 'to call' as in to call someone or something by a particular name, or as in (116), where the meaning of the verb is 'to announce' and the applied object is an event, or something relating to an event which is being announced.

- 114) **Tama-ku mo ware=eu.**  
 father-1SGP REAL call=1SGO  
*My father is calling me.*

- 115) **Ra=mo ware-gi na ute tapingaha gi Lolosaka.**  
 3NSGS=REAL call-APPL ACC place here INST Lolosangga  
*They call this place here 'Lolosangga'.*

- 116) **Ra=mo ware-gi na taro huri na election.**  
 3NSGS=REAL call-APPL ACC time PURP ACC election  
*They announced (called) the time for the election.*

*Woro* means 'to make a liquid by squeezing out the juices', and is applied to the making of coconut milk and kava. When suffixed with *-gi(ni)*, the verb has two different idiomatic meanings, 'to squeeze coconut milk onto food', and 'to put coconut milk on child's lips at naming ceremony, to name a child (ceremonially)'.

- 117) **Go=woro**                      **na**    **matui.**  
 2SGS=squeeze.coco.milk    ACC   coconut  
*Squeeze the coconut milk.*
- 118) **Go=woro-gini=e.**  
 2SGS=squeeze.coco.milk-APPL=3SGO  
*Squeeze the coconut milk onto it (laplap).*
- 119) **Ra=ni**        **woro-gi**                      **na**    **maresu.**  
 3NSGS=IRR    squeeze.coco.milk-APPL    ACC   child  
*They will name the child.*

There are a few examples of verbs where the meaning with and without the applicative suffix seems to be the same.

<i>hako</i>	<i>hakovi</i>	'to hold, give birth'
<i>sovu</i>	<i>sovsovugi</i>	'to joke with s.o.'
<i>vanga</i>	<i>vangani</i>	'to feed s.o., an animal'
<i>uvi</i>	<i>uvigi</i>	'to blow (on s.t.)'

### 11.5 MULTIPLE DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES ON VERBS

There are only a few possibilities for multiple derivational processes acting on a single verb. It is not possible for the causative prefix *vaga-* to occur on a transitive verb, but a transitive verb can be reduplicated to form an intransitive, and this form can be prefixed with *vaga-* to form a causative transitive verb.

$V_{trans} + \text{reduplication} \rightarrow V_{intrans} + \text{vaga-} \rightarrow V_{trans}$

- 120) **Gu**        **ilo**    **na**    **tangaloi**    **ngihie?**  
 2SGS:TEL know    ACC   person    that  
*Do you know that person?*
- 121) **Maresu**    **ngire**    **ra=u**              **ilo-ilo,**        **ngire**    **ra=ni**        **vano**    **lo**  
 child    3NSG    3NSGS=TEL    REDUP-know    3NSG    3NSGS=IRR    go    LOC  
**sigulu**    **lague.**  
 school    big  
*Those children who are smart will go to high school.*



- 122) ...**na=ni**    **vaga-ilo-ilo**    **gimiu**    **bagataha.**  
 1SGS=IRR CAUS-know 2NSG today  
*...I'll make you know today.* (meaning, 'I'll teach you a lesson.')

(RTR064)

An A-type transitive verb can be reduplicated to form an intransitive, which then takes the suffix *-gi(ni)* to form a transitive verb which has an O with a different semantic role from its unduplicated counterpart. I have only three examples of this occurring, with the verb *gani* 'to eat', *geli* 'to dig', and *uli* 'to write'.

$V_{trans} + \text{reduplication} \rightarrow V_{intrans} + -gi \rightarrow V_{trans}$

<i>gani</i>	'to eat (trans)'
<i>gagani</i>	'to eat (intrans)'
<i>gaganigi</i>	'to eat for a special occasion, generally for something new (not for traditional ceremonies or for people)'

- 123) **Da=u**            **ga-gani-gi**            **na**    **turegi/**    **gamali**            **qaro.**  
 1NSG.INS=TEL REDUP-eat-APPL ACC road club.house new  
*We ate a special meal for the new road/ nakamal.*

Sentence (124) demonstrates how the transitive verb *geli* 'to dig' can be reduplicated to produce an intransitive verb, and this form is then suffixed with *-gi(ni)* to produce a transitive verb which has an applied object with a semantic role of instrument.

- 124) **No=mo**    **talasi**    **na**    **no-ku**            **gai**    **geli**    **huri**    **na=ni**  
 1SGS=REAL carve ACC CL.GEN-1SGP wood dig PURP 1SGS=IRR  
**geli-geli-gini=e.**  
 REDUP-dig-APPL=3SGO  
*I cut my digging stick so that I can dig with it.*

The O of the verb *uli* 'to write' is that which is written (125). In the derived form, *uliuligi*, the O has an instrumental role, as the thing which is written with (126).

- 125) **Mo**    **uli**    **na**    **leta.**  
 REAL write ACC letter  
*She is writing a letter.*

- 126) **Go=mese**    **uli-uli-gi**            **na**    **no-ku**            **pen.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR REDUP-write-APPL ACC CL.GEN-1SGP pen  
*Don't write with my pen.*

Some of the transitive *-gi(ni)* or *-Ci* forms which have no intransitive counterpart can be reduplicated to form an intransitive. There are four examples of this in my data: *garasi* ‘to hurt s.o.’, *hagavi* ‘to be sorry/sad for s.o.’, *havusi* ‘to make s.o. happy’, and *vihogi* ‘to dry s.t.’.

- 127) **Qango-ku mo gara-si=eu/ ga-gara-si.**  
 nose-1SGP REAL hurt-APPL=1SGO REDUP-hurt-APPL  
*My nose hurts (me).*

- 128) **No=mo hagavi=go.**  
 1SGS=REAL feel.sorry:APPL=2SGO  
*I feel sorry/sad about you.*

- 129) **No=mo ha-hagavi.**  
 1SGS=REAL REDUP-feel.sorry:APPL  
*I feel sorry /sad.*

- 130) **Nu viho-gi na veveo.**  
 1SGS:TEL dry-APPL ACC pandanus  
*I put the pandanus in the sun to dry.*

- 131) **Mo=vo na=vi-viho-gi aulu...**  
 REAL=say 3SGS=REDUP-dry-APPL up.high  
*She wanted to dry herself up high (in the sun)...*

# 12

## Reduplication

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### 12.1 INTRODUCTION

Reduplication is a common process in Ambae, and has numerous different functions. Words in most of the major word classes can be reduplicated: nouns, verbs, adverbs, demonstratives, numerals, and even the plural article *re*, with some functions covering more than one word class, and others restricted to deriving words in a particular class. Reduplication is analysed below in terms of its various functions, with discussion of the word classes which carry this function. In most instances reduplication does not result in a change of word class, but it is possible for reduplication to have this type of derivational effect.

Some of the functions of reduplication are highly productive, for example the formation of intransitive verbs from a large subclass of transitives. Others are not, for example nominalised forms derived by reduplication are not particularly prevalent in Ambae. While several of the functions of reduplication are of an aspectual nature, these are not particularly productive, and it is not the case, as it is in many other Oceanic languages, that reduplication is regularly used to express progressive or durative aspect.

Both full and partial reduplication of words are possible in Ambae depending mainly on the syllable structure of the root. Two syllable words are generally fully reduplicated, although in some cases only the first syllable is reduplicated. For words of more than two syllables, usually only the first syllable is reduplicated, although in a few isolated cases the first two syllables are reduplicated. There are a few roots which can be both fully and partially reduplicated, with a different meaning for the different derivations (§12.15). The details of the morphophonemics of reduplication are discussed in §2.6.6.

Apart from being reduplicated, verbs and modifiers can be repeated a number of times with similar functions to reduplication. Repetition, like reduplication, can be used to express intensity, and repetition of an event, and thus as it is a related phenomenon and has similar functions, it is also discussed in this chapter. While reduplication is not used to indicate a durative action, repetition is used for this purpose.

## 12.2 UNSPECIFIED OBJECT DELETION

One of the most common and more productive functions of reduplication is to form an intransitive verb from an A-type transitive verb, where the argument with the grammatical relation of subject is retained, and the object is removed. This derivational process is discussed in detail in the section on valency decrease (§11.2.1), and thus here I shall simply give a few examples of verbs which have an unmarked transitive form which is reduplicated to form an intransitive. Observe from these examples, which are all bisyllabic roots, that although bisyllabic roots are generally fully reduplicated, occasionally only the first syllable is reduplicated, and this variation is not predictable.

<i>gahi</i>	'to weed (s.t.)'	<i>gahigehi</i> <sup>1</sup>	'to weed'
<i>gani</i>	'to eat (s.t.)'	<i>gagani</i>	'to eat'
<i>gasi</i>	'to bite (s.t.)'	<i>gagasi</i>	'to bite, itch, sting, irritate'
<i>ilo</i>	'to know (s.t.)'	<i>iloilo</i>	'to be knowledgeable'
<i>kalo</i>	'to climb (s.t.)'	<i>kalokalo</i>	'to climb'
<i>mangi</i>	'to wipe (s.t.)'	<i>mamangi</i>	'to wipe (hands)'
<i>tabe</i>	'to respect (s.o.)'	<i>tabetabe</i>	'to show respect'
<i>tunu</i>	'to roast (s.t.)'	<i>tutunu</i>	'to roast'

- 1) **Ra=mo      gahi   na   talu-re.**  
 3NSGS=REAL weed ACC garden-3NSGP  
*They are weeding/weeded their garden.*
  
- 2) **Ra=mo      gahi-gehi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-weed  
*They are weeding/weeded.*
  
- 3) **\*Ra=mo      gahi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL weed  
*They are weeding/weeded.*
  
- 4) **\*Ra=mo      gahi-gehi   na   talu-re.**  
 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-weed ACC garden-3NSGP  
*They are weeding/weeded their garden.*

<sup>1</sup> Note that the vowel change is the result of a vowel height assimilation rule whereby a -> e/(C)V+highC\_(C)V+high as discussed in §2.6.5.

## 12.3 PLURALITY OF ACTION

The expression here ‘plurality of action’ refers not to the fact that the event is repeated by a single subject, but rather, that several instances of the same action are carried out by different participants, and these events are considered together as one event. Reduplication of the verb indicates that all the actors are performing the same action, but independently of one another, and there is not just one single event taking place, but a series of events which involve the same action. Compare the unreduplicated and reduplicated forms of the verb *mule* ‘to go home’ in (5) and (6). In (5), a single event is referred to, where all the people are going home together to the same place. However in (6), a group of people from different villages have all assembled, and when it is time to leave they all go home to their respective villages. Thus a number of distinct but similar events are described by the verb, as several groups or individuals from within the larger group are making their separate journeys home. The same situation is described by the verbs *sala* ‘to go away’ and *tule* ‘to farewell’, in (7) and (8) respectively.

- 5)     **Hava-ku       ra=u       mule       beno.**  
        family-1SGP 3NSGS=TEL go.home already  
*My family have already gone home.*

- 6)     **Ra=mo       vuge na   hinaga, ra=mo       mule-mule.**  
        3NSGS=REAL open ACC food    3NSGS=REAL REDUP-go.home  
*They open up the food, and then they go home (to their separate houses).*

(BTD040)

- 7)     **Ga=mo       gani=e       vunu ga=mo       sala-sala       taligu.**  
        1NSG.EXS=REAL eat=3SGO then 1NSG.EXS=REAL REDUP-go.away again  
*We ate it and then we all went away again.*

(MN027)

- 8)     **Ga=ru       mo   tule-tule-gi**  
        1NSG.EXS=DL REAL REDUP-farewell-APPL  
*We (two) say goodbye (to each other).*

(LK026)

Note the similarity of this meaning of reduplication to the reciprocal construction (§ 12.4) with the verb *laqa* ‘to speak’. In (9) only one person is speaking, and the verb occurs in its unreduplicated form. In (10) however, where two people are having a conversation, and are speaking to one another, the verb is reduplicated to indicate that both actors are performing the action of the verb independently.

- 9) **Gu laqa me=eu.**  
 2SGS:TEL speak COM=1 SGO  
*You spoke with me.*
- 10) **Da=ru mo laqa-laqa lolo robongi.**  
 INSG.INS=DL REAL REDUP-speak in morning  
*The two of us spoke in the morning.*

The previous examples have shown reduplication of intransitive verbs, but transitives can also be reduplicated with the same function. A similar situation occurs with the verb *bete* 'to give'. In its unreduplicated form this verb refers to a single event in which one person or a group is giving to another. If the verb is reduplicated, then a situation is described in which a number of 'givings' take place between the participants, that is 'sharing out', 'distributing' or 'exchanging'.

- 11) **Da=mo bete-bete-gi lawe na vale.**  
 INSG.INS=REAL REDUP-give-APPL DAT ACC house  
*We share (it) out amongst the houses.*

(ML067)

- 12) **Ale ra=mo bete-bete-gi na garote ngihie tau lo**  
 so 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-give-APPL ACC fresh.prawn that LOC LOC  
**duvi-i vale.**  
 end-CONST house

*So they shared out the fresh water prawns with the other end of the house.*

(BTD037)

Apart from verbs, the only other word which can be reduplicated to express the plurality of action function is the verb-like preposition *gahe*, which means 'to be alone' or 'to do something on one's own'. When this preposition occurs unreduplicated, the meaning is that the subject will perform the action of the verb on his/her own, if the subject is singular, or as a group on its own, distinct from others, if the subject is plural (13). However, if *gahe* is reduplicated, then the subject must be plural, and the meaning is that the individuals (16), or smaller groups (14) which make up the larger group will each perform the action of the verb independently. Thus (15) and (16) describe two contrasting situations: (15) is part of a conversation between two people who are planning to marry and live as a unit by themselves, apart from the rest of their family. In (16), on the other hand, someone is expressing to another person his intention to divorce his wife, so that the two participants referred to by the first dual exclusive will each live on their own.

- 13) **Ga=ni ga-gani gahe gamai.**  
 1NSG.EXS=IRR REDUP-eat alone 1NSG.EX

*We will eat by ourselves (i.e. not with the people being addressed).*

- 14) **Ga=ni ga-gani gahe-gahe-gi.** **Ga=u wali**  
 1NSG.EXS=IRR REDUP-eat REDUP-alone-APPL 1NSG.EXS=TEL take  
**ga-ra hinaga mo hivo, ra=mo gani=e**  
 CL.FOOD-3NSGP food REAL go.down 3NSGS=REAL eat=3SGO  
**gahe=ra, gamai ga=mo gani=e gahe gamai.**  
 alone=3NSGO 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=REAL eat=3SGO alone 1NSG.EX  
*"We will eat by ourselves" (i.e. all of us in our separate groups). So we took their food down, and they ate it by themselves and we ate it by ourselves.*

(LV)

- 15) **Da=ri toga gahe gide=ru**  
 1NSG.IN=DL:IRR live alone 1NSG.IN=DL  
*The two of us will live alone. (i.e. by ourselves, the two of us together but apart from anyone else.)*
- 16) **Ga=ri toga gahe-gahe-gi.**  
 1NSG.EXS=DL:IRR live REDUP-alone-APPL  
*The two of us will live apart. (i.e. divorce, I will live alone and my spouse will live alone.)*

## 12.4 RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTION

The reciprocal construction is discussed in the verb phrase chapter (§9.5.10). However I give a few examples here to demonstrate how reduplication of the verb is an aspect of the formation of the reciprocal, and to show how reduplication in the reciprocal construction relates to other kinds of reduplication. In the reciprocal, more than one actor performs the same action, independently but with respect to the other participants. The action is always transitive. The reciprocal is clearly similar to the function of reduplication described in §12.3, indicating that several actors are carrying out the same action described by the verb, but in that case the actions are carried out independently of one another rather than reciprocally.

- 17) **Ra=mo vui mana-mana-hi=re (sibo-ra).**  
 3NSGS=REAL RECIP REDUP-laugh-APPL=3NSGO self-3NSGP  
*They laughed at each other.*
- 18) **Ne=ru mese vui si-sike-li gimiru (sibo-miru).**  
 2NSGS=DL DEHOR RECIP REDUP-touch-APPL 2NSG:DL self-2NSGP:DL  
*(You two) don't touch each other.*

## 12.5 REPETITIVE ACTION

A situation was discussed above (§12.3) where reduplication of the verb indicates that several instances of the action described by the verb are being carried out; the various actors are all carrying out a single action independently of each other, and thus there are several similar events taking place at the same time, but only once. Alternatively, reduplication can indicate a repetition of the event described, such that the same action by the same subject(s) is repeated, rather than different subjects carrying out the same action once.

In (19), the subject is a single person, who carries out the action described by the verb once. In (20), however, a group of people repeat the action again and again. Likewise, while the unreduplicated form in (21) could describe an action which was repeated,<sup>2</sup> the reduplicated form in (22) stresses the repetitive action. Sentences (23) and (24) also demonstrate typical instances of reduplication expressing this repetitive type of action.

- 19) **No=mo qangi tau lolo tahi.**  
 1SGS=REAL jump LOC in sea  
*I jumped into the sea.*
- 20) **Ga=mo qangi-qangi lolo tahi.**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL REDUP-jump in sea  
*We jumped all about in the sea.*
- 21) **No=mo vidi lo tano.**  
 1SGS=REAL jump LOC ground  
*I jumped on the ground.*
- 22) **Re maresu ra=mana, ra=vidi-vidi-gi.**  
 PL child 3NSGS=laugh 3NSGS= REDUP-jump-APPL  
*The children laughed and jumped up and down.*
- 23) **Uhe mo tu-turu lo hune.**  
 rain REAL REDUP-drip LOC roof  
*Rain was dripping from the roof.*
- 24) **...mo sure-sure-gi vano vano vano mwere mo dori.**  
 REAL REDUP-shake-APPL go go go like REAL turn  
*...he shook all about until he turned over.*

(EK094)

<sup>2</sup> The verb *vidi* describes a different type of jumping from that described by the verb *qangi*. *Vidi* describes an action in which the actor jumps up and down on the spot, whereas *qangi* means to jump from a position up high to a position lower down.



## 12.6 PLURALITY OF PARTICIPANTS

Reduplication of a noun can be used to express plurality of participants. This is not a productive process in Ambae, however. Plurality of the nominal referent is generally specified either by the subject proclitic if the argument is a subject, or in other cases it is only optionally specified, and retrievable from context. Below are examples where the reduplicated noun is the head of an NP which is a subject (25), object (26-27), or object of a preposition (28).

- 25) **Taulu rau-reu ra=u mavugu mavugu mavugu.**  
 month REDUP-leaf 3NSGS=TEL blow.gently blow.gently blow.gently  
*In the month of 'Taulu' all the leaves blow gently in the wind all the time.*  
 (SM3)

- 26) **Go=mo teve na karu-keru-gi.**  
 2SGS=REAL cut ACC REDUP-foot-AL  
*You cut the feet ('foot' pattern on design of dyed mat).*  
 (MD017)

- 27) **Ga=u lehi na la-langa-i manu.**  
 1NSG.EXS=TEL see ACC REDUP-kind-CONST bird  
*We saw many kinds of birds.*  
 (NSM6)

- 28) **Da=mo toa lolo maho-maho-i gai.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL run in REDUP-middle-CONST tree  
*We ran amongst (Lit. in the middle of) the trees.*  
 (96.32)

While in most cases if reduplication is used to show that there is a plural number of participants this reduplication will, unsurprisingly, be of the nominal form, it is possible that reduplication of the verb in a transitive clause can indicate that the object is plural.

- 29) **Ra=mo wali-weli dongo-ra lolo mata-i tangaloi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-carry possession-3NSGP in eye-CONST people  
*They carry lots of their possessions in front of people.*  
 (SM17)

## 12.7 COMPLETE EFFECT 'ALL'

### 12.7.1 INTRODUCTION

In some cases reduplication can indicate not just the plurality of the participants, but either that 'all' of the participants are affected, or that the participant is completely affected by the

action of the verb. I refer to this function of reduplication as ‘complete effect’. As well as verbs, adverbs, nouns and the plural article *re* can reduplicate to express complete effect.

The participant which is affected can be either the subject of an intransitive clause, or the object of a transitive clause, but the common factor which links the participants of clauses in which reduplication has this function is that the affected participant is always an undergoer. Compare this with the situation where the meaning of the reduplication is ‘plurality of action’ (§12.3), where both transitive and intransitive verbs can be reduplicated, but where the participants are always actors. The functions of reduplication in different contexts can thus be disambiguated on the basis of the semantic roles of the participants.

### 12.7.2 VERBS AND ADVERBS

Reduplication of an intransitive verb with an undergoer subject indicates that the subject is completely involved in or affected by the action of the verb. In (30) where the subject is marked as being plural, the meaning of the reduplication is that all of the participants which are referents of the subject are affected by the action. The affected participant in (31) is a mass noun *wai* ‘water’, and thus although singular, the meaning is still the same, that ‘all’ of the water has been spilt.

- 30) **Ra=mo dule-dule.**  
 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-hang  
*They were all hanging.*

(SN1.095)

- 31) **Wai mo ma-lingi-lingi tau lo-lo qana.**  
 water REAL ANTI-REDUP-spill LOC REDUP-LOC mat  
*The water all spilt onto the mat.*

If the verb is transitive, it is the object rather than the agent which is affected. This outcome is consistent with that which occurs with intransitive verbs, where the subject was the affected participant, as in both cases the affected participant is an undergoer. The following examples also demonstrate how an adverb can be reduplicated with the same meaning as when the verb is reduplicated. Contrast (32), where the verb is reduplicated to show that the object is completely affected, and (33), where the adverb which modifies this verb is reduplicated with the same effect.

- 32) **No=mo tera-tera-gi vohogi na tano.**  
 1SGS=REAL REDUP-shake-APPL away ACC earth  
*I shake off all the dirt.*

(LK008)

- 33) **Ale da=mo lai vo-vohogi na matui-gi lolo-na...**  
 SO 1NSG.INS=REAL take REDUP-away ACC coconut-ASS inside-3SGP  
*Then we take out all the coconut from inside it (shell)...*

(ML054)

Only two adverbs can be reduplicated, always with this function, *vohogi* 'completely, away', and *vagasigi* 'last'. Both adverbs end in *-gi*, and were presumably once members of the class of transitive verbs (§4.6).

- 34) **Go=wali vo-vohogi na hinaga lolo gete.**  
 2SGS=carry REDUP-away ACC food in basket  
*Take all the food out of the basket.*
- 35) **Da=mo tu va-vagasigi.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL stay REDUP-last  
*We are spending time together for the very last time.*
- 36) **Da=ni geni vagasigi na mako ngire, vunu da=ni**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR eat last ACC mango 3NSG then 1NSG.INS=IRR  
**kalo=e taligu.**  
 climb=3SGO again  
*We'll eat the last of those mangoes, and then we'll climb it again.*
- 37) **Da=ni geni=re va-vagasigi, vunu da=ni hi geni**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR eat=3NSGO REDUP-last then 1NSG.INS=IRR NEG eat  
**tea taligu, bana mako u rovo, da=ni tu huri**  
 NEG again because mango TEL finish 1NSG.INS=IRR stay PURP  
**na higao taligu.**  
 ACC year again  
*We'll eat the very last of them, then we won't eat any more, because the mangoes are finished, and we'll wait until next year.*

In a cause-effect nuclear layer serial verb construction (§10.5.1), the first verb in the series describes the action of the agent, and the second gives further information about the effect which the action has on the object. If 'complete effect' reduplication occurs in this type of serial verb construction it is the second verb in the series which is reduplicated. Thus in (38) the agents cut the bamboo, with the result that all of them were split, and in (39) the speaker relates having pinched the children's eyes so that they were all poked out. (40) describes a situation in which the action of the verb had a complete effect on a singular object; the wind blew apart the house such that it was destroyed completely.

- 38) ...**da=mo**      **tai**    **waga-waga=ra,**      **da=mo**      **vatu=e.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL chop REDUP-split=3NSGO 1NSG.INS=REAL weave=3SGO  
*...we split them all (bamboo), and then we weave it.*

(SBH031)

- 39) **Nu**      **gina**    **duru-duru**      **na**    **mata-i**      **netu-i**      **tubui.**  
 1SGS:TEL pinch REDUP-poke.thru ACC eye-CONST child-CONST woman  
*I pinched out all the woman's children's eyes.*

(JTT034)

- 40) **Langi** **u**    **here-gi**      **tala-tala**      **na**    **vale.**  
 wind TEL blow-APPL REDUP-take.apart ACC house  
*The wind blew the house down completely.*

### 12.7.3 NOUNS

Certain nouns can also be reduplicated to mark complete affectedness. With relational nouns *duvi* 'end', and *dali* 'side', the reduplicated form specifies that each or both 'ends' (42) or 'sides' (43) are affected.

- 41) **Go=talasi**    **na**    **duvi-i**      **gai**    **ngire**    **ra=ni**      **makenikeni.**  
 2SGS=carve ACC end-CONST wood 3NSG 3NSGS=IRR sharp  
*Cut the ends of those sticks so that they are sharp (one end of lots of sticks).*

- 42) **Go=talasi**    **na**    **gai**    **duvi-duvi**    **ra-ri**      **makenikeni.**  
 2SGS=carve ACC wood REDUP-end 3NSGS=DL:IRR sharp  
*Cut both ends of the stick so that they are sharp.*

- 43) **Ra=ru**      **mo**    **sikeli**      **netu-re**      **dali-deli.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL touch:APPL child-3NSGP REDUP-side  
*The two of them are touching their child, one on each side.*

(LD011)

Nominalised verbs which have been anticausativised (44) can also be reduplicated to express the fact that all items have been affected by the action of the underived transitive verb (45).

- 44) **ta-vise-i**      **avi**  
 ANTI-split-CONST firewood  
*a piece of firewood*

- 45) **Ga=mo tuli vohogi na ta-vise-vise-i bue.**  
 INSG.EXS=REAL throw completely ACC ANTI-split-REDUP-CONST bamboo  
*We throw away all the pieces of bamboo.*

(SBH041)

In the following examples where the referent of the argument in the equational clause is singular, the implication is that the item is completely affected. Thus (46) is a nominalisation of an unreduplicated form, which means that the action, 'ripping', only occurred once. In (47) however, reduplication of the verb indicates that the skirt has been ripped many times, and thus the resultant meaning of the nominalised form is that the skirt is a thing which has been completely ripped.

- 46) **Bari-ku ma-heve-gi.**  
 skirt-1SGP ANTI-rip-NR  
*My skirt is (a) ripped (thing). (i.e. it has a rip in it.)*
- 47) **Bari-ku ma-heve-heve-gi.**  
 skirt-1SGP ANTI-REDUP-rip-NR  
*My skirt is (a) completely ripped (thing).*

#### 12.7.4 PLURAL ARTICLE *RE*

*Re* is an article used only with human nouns, which marks the noun as plural (§5.6.5). If this article is reduplicated the resultant form means 'all', specifying that every possible referent of the form is being referred to. Thus:

<i>tamaku</i>	'my father(s)'
<i>re tamaku</i>	'my fathers (classificatory)'
<i>rere tamaku</i>	'all of my fathers'
<i>mwalakelo</i>	'youth(s)'
<i>re mwalakelo</i>	'youths'
<i>rere mwalakelo</i>	'all the youths'

- 48) **Harigi-ana lawe i tama-ku, retahi-ku, re-re**  
 thank-NR DAT PERS father-1SGP mother-1SGP REDUP-PL  
**tue-ku, re-re haqe-ku huri da=mo sone**  
 same.sex.sib-1SGP REDUP-PL op.sex.sib-1SGP PURP INSG.INS=REAL come  
**bubugi bagataha.**  
 together today

*Thank you to my fathers, my mothers, all of my brothers, and all of my sisters for us coming together today.*

(JH003)

## 12.8 HABITUAL

When an intransitive verb is reduplicated it can denote a habitual state or proclivity. Thus (49) describes a single occasion on which the subject was 'selfish', whereas reduplication of the verb in (50) indicates that the subject is habitually 'selfish'. In (51) the speaker is referring to olden times before people had wells and they used to drink water which gathered in the forks of trees. He states that drinking this water didn't result in a state of habitual sickness. Sentence (52) describes someone who is by nature scared (of snakes).

- 49) **Nainoa, Kenneth mo bugure, mo rau bete na hinaga**  
 yesterday Kenneth REAL selfish REAL not.want give ACC food  
**lawe=eu.**  
 DAT=1SGO

*Yesterday Kenneth was selfish, she didn't want to give any food to me.*

- 50) **Kenneth u bugu-bugure.**  
 Kenneth TEL REDUP-selfish  
*Kenneth is selfish.*

- 51) **Ga=hi sege-sege tea gene na wai ngire.**  
 1NSG.EXS=NEG REDUP-sick NEG INST ACC water 3NSG

*We didn't get sick from those waters. (i.e. we didn't get sick all the time from habitually drinking the water).*

- 52) **Mo mata-matagu (gene teletele).**  
 REAL REDUP-afraid INST snake  
*S/he is (habitually) scared (of snakes).*

A-type transitive verbs, such as *balu* 'to steal (s.t.)' must always be reduplicated to form an intransitive (§12.2). In such cases, the reduplicated verb can have two readings, either the habitual, or the basic intransitive.

- 53) **Ga=u laqa-gi na tangaloi ra=mo balu-belu.**  
 1NSG.EXS=TEL speak-APPL ACC people 3NSGS= REAL REDUP-steal  
*We spoke about the people who steal (habitually).*

Transitive verbs which are members of the subclass which have no intransitive form (§4.4.3.3) can also be reduplicated to specify a habitual action. In this case the object must be stated, but it is nonspecific, and is thus not determined by the nominative article *na*.

- 54) **Ngie u rongo garea da=mo ho-hongi toa.**  
 3SG TEL feel good 1NSG.INS=REAL REDUP-spit.roast chicken  
*S/he enjoys it when we spit roast chicken.*

- 55) **Tangaloi ngihie u hua-hua gineu.**  
 person that TEL REDUP-find thing  
*That person is always finding things.*

- 56) **Giriu ngihie mo godo-godo maresu.**  
 dog that REAL REDUP-chase child  
*That dog chases children.*

- 57) **Tama-miu u inu-inu malogu.**  
 father-2NSGP TEL REDUP-drink kava  
*Your father drinks kava (regularly).*

## 12.9 INTENSITY

Intransitive verbs can be reduplicated to express intensity, whether the verb is the head of a VP, a modifier, or has been nominalised. This expression of ‘intensity’ can be translated as meaning ‘very’, ‘really’, or ‘a lot’.

### 12.9.1 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

- 58) **Ne=u laka-laka, netu-ku mo rada.**  
 2NSGS=TEL REDUP-make.noise child-1SGP REAL wake  
*You (all) made a lot of noise and my baby woke up.*
- 59) **Hinaga ra=u lobu-lobu.**  
 food 3NSGS=TEL REDUP-tasty  
*The food is really tasty.*
- 60) **Bataha no-ra lado hogo ra=u do-dolue.**  
 I.think CL.GEN-3NSGP think true 3NSGS=TEL REDUP-different  
*I bet their beliefs are very different.*

(RG011)

Stative-inchoative intransitive verbs, which take undergoer subjects, can also be reduplicated to indicate either plurality of the subject, or that all of the participants are affected. Sentence (61) can, in principle, thus be translated with either an intensive interpretation or with the meaning that ‘all’ instances of the referent of the subject noun phrase are affected. In fact, generally any ambiguity is accounted for by the fact that if the former interpretation is the correct one, the stressed penultimate vowel is lengthened to indicate intensity (§12.15).

- 61) **Vai-gi ngire ra=u qi-qilodo.**  
 do-ASS 3NSG 3NSGS=TEL REDUP-short  
*Those things are all short.*  
*Those things are very short.*

### 12.9.2 MODIFIER

Several stative-inchoative intransitive verbs which can modify nouns can be reduplicated to specify intensity, for example *lague* 'big' and *garea* 'good'. However, reduplication is not regularly employed for this purpose. Generally the modifier is simply repeated several times, and/or the stressed vowel is lengthened (§12.15), as is the case with the opposites of those words mentioned *biti* 'small', and *hasi* 'bad'.

- 62) **aka la-lague**  
 canoe REDUP-big  
*a very big canoe*
- 63) **tangaloi ga-garea**  
 person REDUP-good  
*a very good person*

### 12.9.3 NOMINALISATION (NOMINALISED INTRANSITIVE)

A nominalisation formed from an intransitive verb by suffixation with the nominalising suffix *-gi* can be reduplicated to express intensity. Other nouns cannot be reduplicated to express this function. The following two examples show nominalised verbs functioning as an argument in an equational clause.

- 64) **Gavu-re ga-garea-gi.**  
 clothes-3NSGP REDUP-good-NR  
*Their clothes are very nice.*
- 65) **Maresu ngihie dalo-dalo-gi.**  
 child that REDUP-naughty-NR  
*That child is really naughty.*

In the following example, where the reduplicated form is a relational noun *vito* 'edge', referring to the edge of a cliff, the interpretation is that the 'very/extreme' edge is being specified.

- 66) **Go=mese vano lo vito-vito-i baha.**  
 2SGS=DEHOR go LOC REDUP-edge-CONST cliff  
*Don't go to the extreme edge of the cliff.*



## 12.10 WORD CLASS CHANGING DERIVATION

## 12.10.1 NOMINALISATION

Nouns can be formed from both transitive verbs and intransitive verbs by reduplication. This is, however, not a productive process, and there are only a small number of examples of nominalisations of this type in my corpus. Some examples are:

<i>leo</i>	→ <i>leleo</i>	'to see' (v.i.) → 'light, vision, opinion'
<i>mwoso</i>	→ <i>mwosomwoso</i>	'to play' (v.i.) → 'toy (play thing)'
<i>tomue</i>	→ <i>tomtomue(gi)</i>	'to lead, go first' (v.i.) → 'leader'
<i>walau</i>	→ <i>walwalau</i>	'to go along (of boat, plane, car)' (v.i.) → 'person who steers/flyes/drives (boat, plane, car)'
<i>bulu</i>	→ <i>bulubulu</i>	'to build' (v.t.) → 'way of building, making'
<i>qetu</i>	→ <i>qetuqetu</i>	'to make walling' (v.t.) → 'walls'
<i>rivu</i>	→ <i>rivurivu</i>	'to plant' (v.t.) → 'plant'
<i>tau</i>	→ <i>tauteu</i>	'to put' (v.t.) → 'marriage ceremony' (when a woman is 'put' with her new husband)
<i>voli</i>	→ <i>volivoli</i>	'to buy' (v.t.) → 'payment (esp. bride price)'

Example (68) shows a nominal which has been derived by reduplication of the intransitive verb *walau* (67). This nominalised form can also function as a nominal modifier (69).

- 67) **Aka mo walau lo-lo tahi.**  
 canoe REAL move.along REDUP-LOC sea  
*The canoe is/was moving along on the sea.*

- 68) **...ngie mo vora-gi na wal-walau-ni aka.**  
 3SG REAL born-APPL ACC REDUP-move.along-CONST canoe  
*...he becomes the steerer of the canoe.*

(AA052)

- 69) **...ngie mo vora-gi na aka wal-walau ngihie.**  
 3SG REAL born-APPL ACC canoe REDUP-steer that  
*...he becomes the canoe steerer.*

(AA009)

Sentence (71) demonstrates an example of nominalisation derived by reduplication of a transitive verb *bulu* 'to build' (70).

- 70) **Da=mo tarani vo da=bulu na vale-da.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL want say 1NSG.INS=build ACC house-1NSG.INP  
*We want to build our house.*

(SBH001)

- 71) **Ngire ra=u haro na bulu-bulu vale-ra.**  
 3NSG 3NSGS=TEL not.know ACC REDUP-build house-3NSGP  
*They didn't know how to build their houses (Lit. the way of building their houses).*

(SS003)

In some cases where an intransitive verb is derived from a transitive verb (§12.2), the derived form can also function as a noun.

- 72) **ga-miu tu-tunu**  
 CL.FOOD-2NSGP REDUP-roast  
*your roasted food*
- 73) **Ra=u uli na uli-uli.**  
 3NSGS=TEL draw ACC REDUP-draw  
*They drew the designs.*
- 74) **vai-vei-gi sao**  
 REDUP-do-ASS many  
*many things (that one does something with)*

### 12.10.2 NOUN -> INTRANSITIVE VERB

A small set of bound common nouns can be reduplicated to form an intransitive verb. The only recorded examples refer to various types of clothing, for which the derived verbal form means 'to dress in this type of clothing'.

<i>bari-</i>	'skirt'	<i>bariberi</i>	'to dress in a skirt'
<i>gavu-</i>	'clothes'	<i>gavugevu</i>	'to clothe oneself'
<i>luqe-</i>	'clothes'	<i>luqeluqe</i>	'to clothe oneself'
<i>malo-</i>	'loincloth'	<i>malomalo</i>	'to dress in a loincloth'

### 12.10.3 VERB -> VERBAL MODIFIER

There is no separate class of adjectives in Ambae, but stative-inchoative intransitive verbs can function as verbal modifiers (§4.4.1.1). Transitive verbs, however, cannot modify nouns: they must be reduplicated and transformed into another category before they can act as modifiers. In some cases this is simply formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive, which can then also function as a verbal modifier, but in other instances the reduplicated form cannot occur predicatively as an intransitive verb, but only as a modifier.

<i>hue</i> 'to paddle' (v.t.)	<i>huhue</i> 'to paddle' (v.i.) <i>aka huhue</i> '(paddling) canoe'
<i>vatu</i> 'to weave' (v.t.)	<i>vavatu</i> 'to weave' (v.i.) <i>gamali vavatu</i> 'weaving house'
<i>huru</i> 'to burn, dye' (v.t.)	<i>huhuru</i> 'to dye mats' (v.i.) <i>garo huhuru</i> 'rope for dyeing'
<i>tunu</i> 'to roast' (v.t.)	<i>tutunu</i> 'to roast' (v.i.) <i>qeta tutunu</i> 'roasted taro'
<i>gani</i> 'to eat' (v.t.)	<i>gagani</i> 'to eat' (v.i.) <i>wai gagani(gi)</i> 'water for making food'
<i>goa</i> 'to scrape' (v.t.)	<i>gogoa</i> *'to scrape' (v.i.) <i>gari gogoa</i> 'scraping shell'
<i>hune</i> 'to carry on shoulders' (v.t.)	<i>hunehune</i> *'to carry on shoulders' (v.i.) <i>qana hunehune</i> 'mat that goes on head like umbrella'
<i>inu</i> 'to drink' (v.t.)	<i>inuinu</i> *'to drink' (v.i.) <i>wai inuinu</i> 'drinking water'
<i>solo</i> 'wash' (v.t.)	<i>solosolo</i> *'to wash' (v.i.) <i>wai solosolo</i> 'water for washing clothes'
<i>teve</i> 'to cut' (v.t.)	<i>teveteve</i> *'to cut' (v.i.) <i>bue teveteve</i> 'cutting knife'
<i>vua</i> 'kick' (v.t.)	<i>vuavua</i> *'kick' (v.i.) <i>moli vuavua</i> 'football'
<i>tuli</i> 'throw' (v.t.)	<i>tulituli</i> *'throw' (v.i.) <i>moli tulituli</i> 'volley ball'

- 75) ...ra=mo    hiri    ga-ra                      qeta tu-tunu    sibo-ra.  
3NSGS=REAL    scrape    CL.FOOD-3NSGP    taro    REDUP-roast    self-3NSGP  
...they scraped their roasted taro themselves.

(SN1.059)

- 76) Go=wali    na    gari    go-goa.  
2SGS=take    ACC    shell    REDUP-scrape  
Take the scraping shell.

(MD072)

- 77) Hate takure    viro-viro,    ngie takure    vatu-vetu.  
NEG    sago.palm    REDUP-sew    but    sago.palm    REDUP-weave  
Not sewn sago palm (roofing), but woven sago palm.

(AH017)

## 12.11 DIRECTIONALS

When a member of the class of directionals is reduplicated, either as a demonstrative (78-79) or a locational noun (80), the purpose is to indicate a greater distance away, for those forms which specify a location away from the speaker (78 and 80), or a closer distance for locations marked with the suffix *-mai* as being close to the speaker (79) (§8.7.1).

- 78) **Hate, ngi-hage-hage.**  
 no DEM-REDUP-Up  
*No, that one further up there.*
- 79) **Go=bitu ngi-him-himei.**  
 2SGS=pick.fruit DEM-REDUP-down:to.sp.  
*Pick that one down here closer to me.*
- 80) **Ge! Lobe na bata hage-hage.**  
 there near ACC table REDUP-up  
*There! Up a bit beyond the table.*

## 12.12 NUMERALS

Reduplication of numerals gives them a distributive function, with the meaning, 'in groups of X' (82-83), or 'X each' (84). The two compounds *velu garea* (lit. 'count good') and *velu hesi* (lit. 'count bad') are used, respectively, to refer to groups of things which can and cannot be divided evenly. If a group can be divided evenly, then one could say of this group something like (81), where if, for example, there were ten people, they could be divided evenly into groups of either two or five.

- 81) **Gide da=u velu garea bana gide da=u**  
 1NSG.IN 1NSG.INS=TEL count good because 1NSG.IN 1NSG.INS=TEL  
**velu gai-rue-rue/ gai-lime-lime.**  
 count NUM- REDUP-two NUM-REDUP-five  
*We can be divided evenly, because we can be counted in twos/fives.*
- 82) **Ne=ni vanai hogo gai-tolu-tolu.**  
 2NSGS=IRR go:to.sp true NUM-REDUP-three  
*You'll come in three at a time.*
- 83) **Ne=mwoso-mwoso gai-rue-rue.**  
 2NSGS=REDUP-play NUM-REDUP-two  
*Play in groups of two.*

- 84) **Go=bete na loli gai-tolu-tolu vataha-gi na maresu dolegi.**  
 2SGS=give ACC lolly NUM-REDUP-three every-APPL ACC child all  
*Give three lollies to each of the children.*

The word for 'once' is derived from the numeral 'one' with the causative prefix attached to give it a multiplicative meaning (§11.3.2.2.1). This derivation can be reduplicated to express the meaning 'once in a while'. While this expression, *vavagatawale*, is quite commonly used, many younger speakers prefer the Bislama borrowing *wanwan taem*, which has the same meaning. I only have examples in my data of the numeral 'one' reduplicated to express this 'intermittent' function, not other numerals.

- 85) **Catriona mo himei Vanuatu va-vagatawale.**  
 Catriona REAL go.down:to.sp Vanuatu REDUP-CAUS:one  
*Catriona comes to Vanuatu once in a while.*

## 12.13 SEMANTIC EXTENSION

Reduplication can be used to form an entirely new lexeme, the meaning of which is clearly related to that of the root, and thus can be recognised as having been derived from it, but which nevertheless has taken on a new meaning. Forms derived in this manner can belong to the same word class as the original form, or can change class as well as meaning. Below are examples of nouns and verbs which remain in the same word class, and examples of nouns derived from both transitive and intransitive verbs. Often the meaning of the derived form is related to that of the unreduplicated form in a fairly non-specific way, as *hale* 'to flow' and *halehale* 'to float', but in many cases there is a narrowing of meaning, such that an aspect of the underived form is focussed on and the reduplicated form refers to a specific object which has this quality. For example *wodowodo* is a particular type of mushroom which glows (*wodo*) in the dark. One who asks (*hui*) questions repeatedly is someone who teaches or learns (*huihui*).

<i>mwata</i>	'snake'	<i>mwatamwatagileu</i>	'sea snake'
<i>bongi</i>	'night'	<i>bongbongi</i>	'morning' (Longana dialect)
<i>gutu</i>	'louse'	<i>gutugutuiwei</i>	'water louse'
<i>dai</i>	'blood'	<i>dadai</i>	'blood tree'
<i>vulu</i>	'hair, feather'	<i>vuluvulusi</i>	'body hair, "hair" ends on mat'
<i>hale</i>	'to flow'	<i>halehale</i>	'to float'
<i>qaro</i>	'to be raw, unripe'	<i>qaroqaroga</i>	'green'
<i>hui</i>	'to ask'	<i>huihui</i>	'to teach, learn, teacher'

<i>wodo</i>	'to glow'	<i>wodowodo</i>	'glowing mushroom'
<i>teve</i>	'to cut'	<i>boe teveteve</i>	'pig with tusk which has cut through the cheek, and started to enter the jaw'
<i>sala</i>	'to be lost'	<i>salasala</i>	'type of edible vine (so called because it spreads a long way, so you can get lost looking for it)'

## 12.14 INHERENT REDUPLICATION

There are a number of forms which appear to be reduplicated forms, but for which there is no unreduplicated counterpart in the modern language. Most forms of this type belong to the class of nouns. Many describe items in the natural world, such as flora and fauna, and others relate to traditional objects such as mats.

<i>vuluvulue</i>	' <u>Dicksonia Antarctica</u> '	<i>*vulue</i>
<i>biribiri</i>	'Hernandia'	<i>*biri</i>
<i>bunebune</i>	'Umbrella tree'	<i>*bune</i>
<i>varavara</i>	'Neisosperma oppositifolia'	<i>*vara</i>
<i>vasavasa</i>	'tree sp.'	<i>*vasa</i>
<i>matamata</i>	'type of banana'	(there is a lexeme <i>mata</i> 'eye' but this would not appear to be related to the form <i>matamata</i> )
<i>watuwetu</i>	'type of yam'	<i>*watu</i>
<i>teletele</i>	'snake'	<i>*tele</i>
<i>lagalaga</i>	'Yellow-eyed fruit dove'	<i>*laga</i>
<i>himwehimwe</i>	'rainbow'	<i>*himwe</i>
<i>revirevi</i>	'afternoon'	<i>*revi</i>
<i>ureure</i>	'world'	<i>*ure</i>
<i>singisingi</i>	'slit gong'	<i>*singi</i>
<i>seresere</i>	'type of woven mat'	<i>*sere</i>
<i>qiriqiri</i>	'type of woven mat'	<i>*qiri</i>
<i>muremure</i>	'killer'	<i>*mure</i>

There are also a number of stative-inchoative intransitive verbs which appear in a reduplicated form, but for which there is no unreduplicated form in modern Ambae. Most of these forms have the initial syllable *ma-*, and could be derived anticausatives (§11.2.2). However, the unreduplicated form does not exist either with or without the *ma-* prefix in modern Ambae.

<i>bibilu</i>	'to be wet'	<i>*bilu</i>	
<i>mamaha</i>	'to be dry'	<i>*maha</i>	
<i>mamarae</i>	'to be light'	<i>*marae</i>	
<i>mwamwavi</i>	'to be hot'	<i>*mwavi</i>	
<i>manivinivi</i>	'to be thin'	<i>*manivi</i>	<i>*nivi</i>
<i>makenikeni</i>	'to be sharp'	<i>*makeni</i>	<i>*keni</i>

## 12.15 FULL VERSUS PARTIAL REDUPLICATION

Earlier discussion of the morphophonemics of reduplication (§2.6.6) demonstrated that whether a word is fully or partially reduplicated is generally determined by the syllable structure of the root, although there are a number of unpredictable exceptions. In most cases a root only has one possible reduplicated form, and no difference in meaning is signalled by the manner of formation of the reduplication. There are some exceptions to this rule, however. A few words have both fully and partially reduplicated forms, with different functions employed for the different forms. All of the words which have two reduplicated forms are derived from bisyllabic roots which would generally, according to the normal rules of reduplication, be fully reduplicated. However, these words also have a derived form in which only the first syllable is reduplicated. There can be a difference in meaning between the two variations of the reduplicated forms, but no generalisations can be made, as there are so few examples.

<i>gani</i>	'to eat' (v.t.)
<i>gagani</i>	'to eat' (v.i.)
<i>ganigeni</i>	'to eat (habitual action)' (v.t.)
<i>garu</i>	'to swim, bathe' (v.i.)
<i>gagaru</i>	'to swim, bathe' (v.i.)
<i>garugeru</i>	'to swim (emphasis on continuous action)' (v.i.)
<i>vatu</i>	'to weave' (v.t.)
<i>vavatu</i>	'to weave' (v.i.)
<i>vatuvetu</i>	'woven' (only seen as modifier in the corpus)

*\*gara* (no unreduplicated form)

<i>garasi</i>	'to hurt' (v.t.)
<i>gagarasi</i>	'to hurt' (v.i.)
<i>garagara</i>	'to hurt' (v.i.)

*\*havu* (no unreduplicated form)

<i>havusi</i>	'to be happy' (v.t.)
<i>hahavusi</i>	'to be happy' (v.i.)
<i>havuhevu</i>	'to be happy' (v.i.)

While there is no difference in meaning between *hahavusi* and *havuhevu*, there does seem to be a subtle difference between *gagarasi* and *garagara*. *Gagarasi* refers to pain, which can often be quite strong, while the meaning of *garagara* is more like 'irritate', or 'to feel a throbbing kind of pain'. The following examples demonstrate this:

- 86) **Bisu-ku mo ga-gara-si.**  
 finger-1SGP REAL REDUP-hurt-APPL  
*My finger hurts (as, for example, if you cut or hit it).*
- 87) **Bisu-ku mo gara-gara.**  
 finger-1SGP REAL REDUP-hurt  
*My finger hurts (as, for example, if you have a cut which gets lemon juice in it, and then stings).*

## 12.16 REPETITION

Reduplication should be distinguished from repetition of a verb or a modifier to indicate repetition, duration, continuity or intensity of an action, or plurality of participants. Reduplication is not used to express duration of an action; this is expressed by repeating the verb up to seven times, as in (88). All types of verbs and some modifiers can be repeated to express repetition (89), continuity (90), intensity (91) and plurality (92). Repetition can be distinguished from reduplication on the basis of intonation and stress patterns. While in a reduplicated form it is not possible to pause between the copy and its root, there can be a pause between repetitions of a word. Further, when a word is repeated, each word carries its own stress.

- 88) **No=mo mana mana mana mana mana mana mana.**  
 1SGS=REAL laugh laugh laugh laugh laugh laugh laugh  
*I laughed and laughed and laughed.*
- 89) **Mo vai vei vei vei vei mwere.**  
 REAL do do do do do like  
*S/he does it again and again.*
- 90) **Ra=mo hage, ra=ni hage hage hage hage hage,**  
 3NSGS=REAL go.up 3NSGS=IRR go.up go.up go.up go.up go.up  
**ra=ni huri na visiu.**  
 3NSGS=IRR follow ACC star  
*They go up, and they will go up and up (i.e. a long distance), and they will follow the star.*



- 91) **Mwere vanua-ra bataha u garea u garea u garea u**  
 like country-3NSGP I.think TEL good TEL good TEL good TEL  
**garea dene na vanua-da.**  
 good SOURCE ACC country-1NSG.INP

*Like I'm sure their country is much much better than our country.*

(LD028)

- 92) **Tangaloi sao sao sao sao sao ra=vanai.**  
 people many many many many many 3NSGS=go:to.sp  
*Many many people came.*

# 13

## Existential, equational and locational clauses

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### 13.1 INTRODUCTION

In terms of formal structure, there are three distinct types of nonverbal clauses in Ambae: those that consist of a single NP; those formed by juxtaposition of two NPs; and those formed by juxtaposition of an NP and a PP. There is a close correlation between these formal types of clauses and functional types. Those clauses which consist of a single NP are existential clauses. A clause which is formed by juxtaposition of two NPs is either an equational clause, or a locational clause. Nonverbal clauses which have a PP as the predicate are also generally locational clauses, as the only non-locative preposition which can be the head of a predicate PP is the purposive preposition *huri*. The order of constituents in nonverbal clauses reflects that which is generally found in verbal clauses in Ambae, where the subject precedes the predicate.

When a single NP stands as a clause, the existence of that object which occurs as the head of the NP is being asserted. A subtype of existential clauses is possessive clauses, an equivalent of 'have' clauses, where ownership of an object is asserted. While there is no existential verb 'to be' in Ambae, not all existential clauses are nonverbal. The postural and semi-postural verbs *tu* 'to stay', *eno* 'to lie', *toga* 'to sit', *labe* 'to stand', and *taqao* 'to lie flat' can state the existence of an object, or its location in a place. These types of clauses will also be discussed, and the factors which determine their occurrence as opposed to a nonverbal clause.

In equational clauses the referents of the heads of the two NPs are equated. The second NP is the predicate, stating something about the referent of the first NP. One subtype of equational clause is the classificatory clause, in which someone or something is identified as being a member of a group, as specified by the head of the second NP. Identificational clauses are another subtype of equational clause, asserting the identity of the subject and the predicate.

Prepositional clauses are generally locational clauses, with a locative preposition as the head of the PP, stating the location of an item in space. In rare examples, however, the purposive preposition *huri* 'for' can occur in prepositional clauses. Other locational clauses are formed when a predicate NP is marked for locative case, or if the head is an absolute location noun.

The formation of a negative nonverbal clause differs significantly from negation of a verbal clause, in which the negative particles *hi* and *tea* are positioned preverbally and postverbally respectively. In the negative counterpart of a nonverbal clause, a different negative particle *hate*, which is also an interjection, 'no', marks the clause as negative. The negative particle occurs clause finally in existential clauses, while it occurs before the predicate in equational and prepositional clauses.

The forms and functions of the various types of nonverbal clauses are summarised in Table 13.1.

CLAUSE TYPE	FORM	FUNCTION
Existential clause:		
+ve existential	(NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) NP <sub>PRED</sub>	asserts the existence of an object
-ve existential	NP <sub>SUBJ</sub> <i>hate</i> P <sub>PRED</sub>	asserts the nonexistence of an object
+ve possessive	(NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) PossNP <sub>PRED</sub>	asserts that an object is possessed by a possessor
-ve possessive	(NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) PossNP <sub>SUBJ</sub> <i>hate</i> P <sub>PRED</sub>	asserts that an object is not possessed by a possessor
Equational clause:		
+ve classificatory	(NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) NP <sub>SUBJ</sub> NP <sub>PRED</sub>	attributes membership of a particular class to the subject
-ve classificatory	(NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) NP <sub>SUBJ</sub> <i>hate</i> NP <sub>PRED</sub>	attributes nonmembership of a particular class to the subject
+ve identificational	(NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) NP <sub>SUBJ</sub> NP <sub>PRED</sub>	asserts the identity of the predicate and subject
-ve identificational	(NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) NP <sub>SUBJ</sub> <i>hate</i> NP <sub>PRED</sub>	asserts the nonidentity of the predicate and subject
Locational clause:		
+ve locational	(NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) NP <sub>SUBJ</sub> PP <sub>LOC</sub> (NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) NP <sub>SUBJ</sub> NP <sub>LOC</sub>	asserts that something is located in a place
-ve locational	(NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) NP <sub>SUBJ</sub> <i>hate</i> PP <sub>LOC</sub> (NP <sub>TOPIC</sub> ) NP <sub>SUBJ</sub> <i>hate</i> NP <sub>LOC</sub>	asserts that something is not located in a place

Table 13.1 The various types of nonverbal clauses

## 13.2 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

## 13.2.1 NONVERBAL EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

A nonverbal existential clause consists minimally of a basic NP, which predicates the existence of the entity which is represented by the head of the NP. In positive nonverbal existential clauses, the NP head must be modified by either a numeral (1), quantifier (2) or stative-inchoative verb (3). While members of these classes of words can occur as the head of a VP, it is clear that they are not verbal predicates in these clauses, as the definition of a verb requires that it be preceded by a subject proclitic.

- 1) **[Maresu mwera gai-rue, ]<sub>NP</sub> [vavine gai-tolu.]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 child male NUM-two female NUM-three  
*There were two boys and three girls.*
  
- 2) **[Visiu sao.]<sub>NP</sub>** **\*[Visiu]<sub>NP</sub> [sao.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
 star many  
*There are many stars.*
  
- 3) **Nainoa [uhe laque.]<sub>NP</sub>** **\*[uhe]<sub>NP</sub> [laque.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
 yesterday rain big  
*Yesterday there was a big rain.*

It is not possible to have a nonverbal existential clause consisting simply of an unmodified head noun (4). If one wishes to make a statement about the absolute existence of a single entity (which is realised as an unmodified head noun in an NP) then this requires a verbal existential clause using one of the postural verbs to state existence (5) (§13.2.3).

- 4) **\*[God.]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 God  
*There is (a) God.*
  
- 5) **[God]<sub>NP</sub> [mo tu.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
 God REAL exist  
*There is (a) God.*

The head noun in an existential clause is not preceded by an article.

For most types of nonverbal clauses there is a topic initial slot. This slot introduces the topic, and then a statement relating to the existence of this entity is made by the predicate NP. Thus in (6), *damu* 'yam' is the topic, and a literal translation of this sentence would be 'Yams, there are many kinds', where the existential NP consists of the head noun *lalangagi*

'kind' modified by the verbal quantifier *sao* 'many'. A similar situation is found in (7), where the nominal *naba* 'number' is the fronted topic, and the existential NP consists of a head noun modified by a numeral *hala gairue* 'two kinds', such that a literal translation would be 'Numbers, there are two kinds...'. Note that in both these examples the head noun of the existential NP translates as 'kind', and it is only when these two nouns constitute the NP head, when the existence of kinds of things is being referred to, that topic fronting occurs in simple existential clauses. Topic fronting is much more prevalent, and in some cases obligatory in possessive clauses, as will be shown in §13.2.2.

- 6) [Damu,]<sub>TOP</sub> [la-langa-gi      sao.]<sub>NP</sub>  
yam              REDUP-kind-AL    many  
*There are many kinds of yams.*
- 7) [Naba,]<sub>TOP</sub> [hala gai-rue]<sub>NP</sub> - [velu hesi,]<sub>NP</sub> [velu garea.]<sub>NP</sub>  
number      kind NUM-two      count bad      count good  
*There are two kinds of numbers - ones that aren't divisible into equal groups, and ones that are.*

An existential clause can have a locational adjunct, either a locative PP (8) or a locative NP (9), which refers to the existence of something in a particular place (8) or time (9). The possible ambiguity which exists as to whether a sentence consists of an existential clause with a locational adjunct, or is simply a locational clause, is discussed in §13.3.4.

- 8) [Toli sao]<sub>NP</sub> [lolo mwagoni-gi.]<sub>PP</sub>  
egg many in      nest-AL.  
*There are many eggs in the (their) nest.*
- 9) [Wig ngavulu gai-lime domwa-gi gai-rue]<sub>NP</sub> [lo higao gatawale.]<sub>NP</sub>  
week ten      NUM-five plus-NOM    NUM-two    LOC year    NUM:one  
*There are fifty two weeks in a year.*

#### 13.2.1.1 NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

To assert that something does not exist, the negative particle *hate* is placed after the NP (10). In a minimal positive existential clause there is a single constituent, the NP, which is the predicate. Where a clause consists of a single NP, the predication being made is that the referent of that NP exists. In negative clauses, however, the NP becomes the subject and the negative particle is the predicate. What is being predicated is that the referent of the subject NP does not exist.

- 10) **Tuei bana [bongi maraga]<sub>NP</sub> [hate,]<sub>PRED</sub> ngie [bongi gai-lime,]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 before because day get.up NEG but day NUM-five  
**[bongi sangavulu,]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 ten day

*Because before there was no Ascension Day, but there was a (special feast on the) fifth day, and there was a (special feast on the) tenth day.*

(BTD019)

While in positive existential clauses it is obligatory that either the head noun be modified or there be a fronted topic, this is not the case in negative clauses. There is no clause initial topic slot, and the subject NP can consist simply of the head noun (11).

- 11) **[Lulumu-gi]<sub>NP</sub> [hate,]<sub>PRED</sub>**  
 taste.good-AL NEG

*There was no good taste.*

(FRT024)

### 13.2.2 POSSESSIVE CLAUSES

Possessive clauses are a subtype of existential clause, in which the predicate NP consists of a possessive phrase. Whereas a basic existential clause simply predicates that an entity exists, in a possessive clause a statement is being made, not simply that the entity exists, but that it exists in a specific possessive relationship to the possessor. Thus while a free translation of a possessive clause with a first singular possessor might be, 'I have an X', a more literal translation would be, 'My X exists/is'. The possessed item which is predicated as existing may be either alienably (12) or inalienably (13) possessed by the possessor (§7.2).

- 12) **[Bule-ku boe gai-lime,]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 CL.NAT-1SGP pig NUM-five

*I have five pigs.*

- 13) **[Qatu-ne gai-rue,]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 head-3SGP NUM-two

*It has two heads.*

As with affirmative existential clauses, there is a clause initial topic slot, which is obligatorily filled if the head noun is unmodified, but in other instances is optional. In (12) above, the head noun *boe* 'pig' is modified by the numeral *gailime* 'five', and it is common for the head noun in a possessive clause to be modified to indicate quantity. In those cases where the head noun is modified, there is optional specification of the topic (14). If, however, the head noun occurs unmodified it must be preceded by a topic. The topic is most commonly realised as a pronoun (15) or a proper noun (16).

- 14) ([Ngie]<sub>TOP</sub>) [v<sub>ale</sub>-na      gai-rue.]<sub>PRED</sub>  
       3SG            house-3SGP   NUM-two  
*S/he has two houses.*

- 15) [Neu,]<sub>TOP</sub> [netu-ku      vavine.'].<sub>PRED</sub>  
       1SG            child-1SGP   female  
*I have a daughter.*

(JMM001)

- 16) [Lulu,]<sub>TOP</sub> [tama-i            netu-ne.]<sub>PRED</sub>  
       Lulu            father-CONST   child-3SGP  
*Lulu has a husband.*

Within the possessive phrase the possessor must occur in pronominal form (17), it cannot be realised as a full NP (18). In other words, only simplex possessive constructions occur in possessive clauses, where the possessor is a pronominal suffix on the possessed nominal or classifier (§7.2). If the speaker wishes to explicitly identify the possessor using an NP, this is always stated in topic position, and is cross-referenced by a possessive suffix on the head noun of the possessive phrase (19).

- 17) [Ambrose,]<sub>TOP</sub> [bula-na      taragi      gatigale.]<sub>PRED</sub>  
       Ambrose      CL.NAT-3SGP   vehicle   NUM:one  
*Ambrose has a vehicle.*

- 18) \*[Taragi bule-i            Ambrose      gatigale.]<sub>PRED</sub>  
       vehicle CL.NAT-CONST   Ambrose      NUM:one  
*Ambrose has a vehicle.*

- 19) [Garivi ngihie,]<sub>TOP</sub> [golo-na      qaravu.]<sub>PRED</sub>  
       rat      that            tail-3SGP   long  
*That rat has a long tail.*

This has relevance for the realisation of interrogative possessive clauses, as the interrogative *hine* 'who' is the possessor in an interrogative clause asking 'Who has an X', and may be expected to occur as the possessor noun in the possessive phrase. Instead, it obligatorily surfaces as the fronted topic, cross referenced by the third person singular suffix on the head noun.

<sup>1</sup> In this example the nominal *vavine* 'female' does not modify *netuku* 'my child', but rather *netuku vavine* is a compound noun meaning 'my daughter'.

- 20) [Hine]<sub>TOP</sub> [bula-na boe (lu-ne)?]<sub>PRED</sub>  
 who CL.NAT-3SG pig on-3SGP  
*Who has a/ some pig(s)?*

## 13.2.2.1 NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE CLAUSES

In a negative possessive clause, as with basic existential clauses, the negative particle, *hate* follows the existential NP (21). While there is still a clause initial topic position (22), it is not obligatorily filled, even if the head noun is unmodified (23).

- 21) Huhu-ne hate radu.  
 breast-3SGP NEG yet  
*Her breasts haven't grown yet. (Lit. She doesn't have any breasts yet.)*

(JMM004)

- 22) Maresu ngihie, tavalu-ne hate.  
 child that half-3SGP NEG  
*That child doesn't have a partner.*

- 23) (Ngire) luqa-ra hate.  
 3NSG clothes-3NSGP NEG  
*They have no clothes./They don't have any clothes.*

Compare (23) above with (24) below, and note that although these two sentences have identical structure, the first has been translated in the present tense, and the second in the past. The time reference in the translation is not based on linguistic information, but rather on pragmatic information gained from the context. These examples illustrate the fact that it is not possible to mark TAM in nonverbal clauses, and that a reading with any time placement is possible for all nonverbal clauses taken in isolation. There is no verbal element in nonverbal clauses, and therefore there is no option for marking TAM. Nonverbal existential clauses can specify the existence of an object in the past, present or future, and in any given situation, the tense implied is only retrievable from context. Sentence (25) is an example of a counterfactual conditional, and if the existential clause in this sentence was observed in isolation, it would be assumed that a correct interpretation of the predication would be 'We don't have a vehicle'. In reality it is the very fact that the people do have a vehicle which is being discussed, as the context demonstrates.

- 24) (Ngire) vale-ra hate.  
 3NSG house-3NSGP NEG  
*They didn't have houses.*

(SS002)



- 25) **Huri, vo vese niko, taragi hate.**  
 PURP if DEHOR 2SG vehicle NEG  
*Because if it wasn't for you, there wouldn't be a vehicle.*

Tense can be indicated in nonverbal clauses by an adjunct which is a member of the class of temporals.

- 26) **Mamingaha ga-da bigi hate.**  
 today CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP meat NEG  
*Today we don't have any meat.*

### 13.2.3 VERBAL EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

While there is no existential verb in Ambae, there are certain posture verbs which can predicate existence, in both existential and locational clauses. In purely existential clauses, the posture verbs which occur are *tu* 'to stay' (27) and *eno* 'to lie' (28), while as well as these, the verbs *toga* 'to sit', *labe* 'to stand', and *taqao* 'to lie flat' occur in locational clauses.

- 27) **Tamate ra=mo tu - nu lehe=ra.**  
 devil 3NSGS=REAL stay 1SGS:TEL see=3NSGO  
*There are devils - I've seen them.*
- 28) **Gineu ngire ra=ni eno tamwere.**  
 thing 3NSG 3NSGS=IRR lie always  
*Those things will always be. (We will always have those things.)*

(RV041)

In some cases either a verbal or a nonverbal clause can be used to express the meaning of existence (29-32), but generally certain situations require a verbal statement of existence, while others don't. There are also restrictions as to when *tu* 'to stay' or *eno* 'to lie' is the appropriate existential verb. While for inanimate objects it is possible to use either *tu* or *eno* to predicate existence of that entity, for animates, and in fact all live things including plants, *eno* 'to lie' cannot have an existential reading. When referring to the existence of such entities as a God, devils, animals or plants, the appropriate verb is *tu*, and if *eno* occurs with such entities it must carry the postural meaning 'to lie'. So while the possession of *mane* 'money' in (30) could be predicated with either *eno* or *tu*, sentence (32) would require the translation 'His pigs are lying down.', if the verb used was *eno*.

- 29) **Niko no-mu mane (lu-mu)?**  
 2SG CL.GEN-2SGP money on-2SGP  
*Do you have any money (on you)?*

- 30) (Niko) no-mu mane mo eno/ tu?  
 2SG CL.GEN-2SGP money REAL lie stay  
*Do you have any money (left)?*

- 31) Ngie bula-na boe (lu-ne).  
 3SG CL.NAT-3SGP pig on-3SGP  
*He has some pigs.*

- 32) Bula-na boe ra=mo tu.  
 CL.NAT-3SGP pig 3NSGS=REAL stay  
*He has some pigs.*

In order to state whether or not an entity exists at all at the time of the speech act, an existential verb is required to affirm the entity's existence. While semantically this is as a predication of absolute existence, structurally it means that if the head noun of the NP occurs unmodified, a verbal existential clause is required; a nonverbal existential clause is not acceptable. The reverse occurs for the negative counterpart of such existential statements; a negated verbal existential clause is ungrammatical, and the correct form is a negative nonverbal existential clause.

In sentences (33) to (36), statements are being made about the absolute existence of 'food'. This is considered to be absolute existence as it refers to whether or not the entity 'food' is available to the speaker at all at the time of the utterance. A positive statement requires a verbal clause, whereas only a nonverbal clause is grammatical if the statement is negative. The same would be true when making an absolute statement about the existence of such entities as a God, or devils.

- 33) Hinaga mo eno/ tu.  
 food REAL lie stay  
*There is some food.*
- 34) \*Hinaga.  
 food  
*There is some food.*
- 35) \*Hinaga hi eno/ tu tea.  
 food NEG lie stay NEG  
*There is no food.*
- 36) Hinaga hate.  
 food NEG  
*There is no food.*

A similar situation occurs with both simple existential and possessive clauses, although with positive possessive clauses, nonverbal clauses are acceptable if there is a clause initial topic.

- 37) **Gide ga-da hinaga.**  
 1NSG.IN CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP food  
*We have some food.*
- 38) **(Gide) ga-da hinaga hate.**  
 1NSG.IN CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP food NEG  
*We don't have any food.*
- 39) **(Gide) ga-da hinaga mo tu.**  
 1NSG.IN CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP food REAL stay  
*We have some food.*
- 40) **\*(Gide) ga-da hinaga hi tu tea.**  
 1NSG.IN CL.FOOD-1NSG.INP food NEG stay NEG  
*We don't have any food.*

It is possible for a modified noun to occur in a clause which has one of the postural verbs as the predicate. In this case, the verb cannot simply have an existential reading, it must have its postural reading, or take some aspect of the meaning of the postural verb. For example, if you were simply wanting to talk about the existence of a certain number of mats, as in (41), generally a nonverbal clause would be used. If, however, either of the verbs *eno* 'to lie' or *tu* 'to stay' were to occur as the predicate, with the same NP as the subject, the meaning would not simply be that the mats exist, but that the specified number is how many are left. Sentences (42) to (44) reflect similar situations. As *tamana* 'her/his father' is modified by the verbal quantifier *sao* 'many', a nonverbal clause is appropriate to express the existence of the possessive relationship. If the verb *tu* occurs as the predicate with this same NP as the subject, the sentence does not have an existential reading, but rather, the verb carries the meaning 'to stay', or 'to be present'. If any of the other postural verbs which occur in locational clauses were to be used with this subject NP, they would obligatorily carry their full postural meaning. In (44) the verb *toga* could not even carry the postural meaning 'to sit', but must mean 'to live'.

- 41) **Qana gai-tolu (ra=mo eno/ tu).**  
 mat NUM-three 3NSGS=REAL lie stay  
*There are three mats (left).*
- 42) **Tama-na sao.**  
 father-3SGP many  
*S/he has lots of (classificatory) fathers.*

- 43) **Tama-na      sao      ra=mo      tu.**  
 father-3SGP   many   3NSGS=REAL stay  
*She has lots of (classificatory) fathers left/ staying here.*
- 44) **Tama-na      sao      ra=mo      toga.**  
 father-3SGP   many   3NSGS=REAL live  
*She has lots of (classificatory) fathers who are (still) alive.*

As with nonverbal existential clauses, when a verbal existential clause occurs with a PP adjunct which has a locative preposition as its head, the existence of an entity in a particular location is being predicated. One of the postural verbs *tu* 'to stay', *eno* 'to lie', *toga* 'to sit', *labe* 'to stand', or *taqao* 'to lie flat' will occur, and the choice of verb is mainly dependent on the physical features of the object, and whether, by its shape and position in relation to the surface it rests on, it would more likely be seen as sitting, standing, or lying. Water 'lies' (45), a ball 'sits' (46), a long piece of firewood can 'stand' against something (47), and a book 'lies flat' (48) (or it may also 'lie').

- 45) **Wai    lague mo    eno    lolo    wel?**  
 water big   REAL lie   in   well  
*Is there a lot of water in the well?*
- 46) **Moli mo    toga    lo    tano.**  
 ball REAL sit   LOC ground  
*The ball is on the ground.*
- 47) **No-da                    avi                    mo    labe    lo    vui-ni                    gai.**  
 CL.GEN-1NSG.INP firewood   REAL stand LOC trunk-CONST tree  
*Our firewood is (standing/ leaning) against the tree.*
- 48) **Basted, no-ku                    bugu    mo    taqao    lolo    vale.**  
 damn   CL.GEN-1SGP book   REAL lie.flat in   house  
*Damn, my book is in the house. (i.e. I left my book in the house.)*
- 49) **No-ku                    bue    mo    eno/    taqao/    \*tu/    \*toga/    \*labe    lolo    vale.**  
 CL.GEN-1SGP knife   REAL lie   lie.flat stay sit   stand in   house  
*My knife is in the house.*
- 50) **Toa                    mo    labe/    \*tu/    \*toga/    \*eno/    \*taqao    lobe    na    vale.**  
 chicken REAL stand stay sit   lie   lie.flat near ACC house  
*The chicken is next to the house.*

In clauses which have one of the postural verbs as the predicate and a locational PP adjunct, it is only when the referent of the subject NP is human that the postural verbs must retain their postural meaning and that an existential reading is not possible. The exception is with the semi-postural verb *tu* 'to stay', which can have an existential reading in locational clauses, even if the subject is human. Compare (51) which is an existential locational clause, with (52), in which *toga* must mean 'to sit' or even its other meaning, 'to live'. It is not possible for this sentence to have a simple existential reading, 'The woman is in the garden.' To express this meaning the verb *tu* must be used.

- 51) **Tubui mo tu lolo talu.**  
 woman REAL stay in garden  
*The woman is in the garden.*
- 52) **Tubui mo toga lolo talu.**  
 woman REAL sit/ live in garden  
*The woman is sitting/ living in the garden.*

In cases such as (53), (54) and (55), where there is no subject NP and the subject is the unmarked third person singular, the sentence could be ambiguous if the identity of the referent is not known. If the subject is human, the postural reading of the verb is specified, and a simple existential locational reading is not possible. However, for non-human subjects, only the existential reading is available.

- 53) **Mo eno lolo vale.**  
 REAL lie in house  
*It is in the house.*  
*S/he is lying in the house.*
- 54) **Mo toga lo bata.**  
 REAL sit LOC table  
*It is on the table.*  
*S/he is sitting on the table.*
- 55) **Mo labe tau hivo.**  
 REAL stand LOC down  
*It is down there.*  
*S/he is standing down there.*

### 13.3 EQUATIONAL CLAUSES

An equational clause is formed by juxtaposition of two NPs, where the subject is the first NP and the predicate is the second. I distinguish two types of equational clauses,

classificatory and identificational. They have the same basic form, but express a different meaning.

### 13.3.1 CLASSIFICATORY CLAUSES

Classificatory clauses are a subtype of equational clauses which simply state the class membership of an entity, 'X is a Y'.

- 56) **Ngie gimiru retahigi, neu, neu retahigi vage.**  
 CONJ 2NSG:DL chief 1SG 1SG chief too  
*And you two are important people, and I am an important person too.*  
 (AD024)

- 57) **...gai-lime-gi boe gogona.**  
 NUM-five-NOM pig holy  
*...the fifth one is a holy pig.*  
 (APK010)

- 58) **Brown, ngie a maresu mwera biti.**  
 Brown 3SG NOM child male small  
*Brown is a small boy.*

- 59) **Roselyn, ngie a vavine ha-havu-si.**  
 Roselyn 3SG NOM woman REDUP-happy-APPL  
*Roselyn is a happy woman.*

- 60) **Ngie a tangaloi-ni tabana-gi siaga.**  
 3SG NOM person-CONST work-NR hard  
*S/he is a hard worker.*

The structure of the following examples (61-63), in which the head noun is the same in both the subject and predicate NPs, is a device which is used to emphasise the statement. The head noun of the predicate NP is modified by a stative-inchoative verb in each case, and it is possible for a stative verb to occur as a verbal predicate with basically the same meaning (64-66). However, a verbal clause does not express the same emphasis.

- 61) **...[vanue tahingaha]<sub>NP</sub> [vanue gogona.]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 land here land holy  
*...this land is a holy land.*  
 (AD014)

- 62) **Ale [vale ngihie]<sub>NP</sub> [vale rovo.]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 so house that house finish  
*Then the house is finished.* (Lit. *Then the house is a finished house.*)  
 (SBH042)
- 63) **Hate, [a gineu ngaha]<sub>NP</sub> [a gineu garea.]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 no NOM thing this NOM thing good  
*No, this thing is a good thing.*  
 (EK051)
- 64) **[Vanue talingaha]<sub>NP</sub> [u gogona.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
 land here TEL holy  
*This land is holy.*
- 65) **[Vale ngihie]<sub>NP</sub> [u rovo.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
 house that TEL finish  
*That house is finished.*
- 66) **[Gineu ngaha]<sub>NP</sub> [u garea.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
 thing this TEL good  
*This thing is good.*

While in (61) and (62) neither of the NP heads are determined by an article, in (63) both the subject and predicate NP are marked with the nominative article *a*. As noted in §3.4.3.2, this article can be used to determine the head noun in an NP which is not governed by a verb or preposition (i.e. both in subject NPs and when the NP is a nonverbal predicate), but is no longer regularly used, particularly in the Lolovoli dialect.

A stative-inchoative intransitive verb can be nominalised with the suffix *-gi*, which allows it to occur as the head noun of the predicate NP in an equational clause (68). The resultant meaning is basically equivalent to a stative intransitive verbal clause (67), where the verb occurs in its underived form, marked for telic aspect.

- 67) **[Maresu ngire]<sub>NP</sub> [ra=u ilo-ilo.]<sub>VP</sub>**  
 child 3NSG 3NSGS=TEL REDUP-know  
*Those children are smart.*
- 68) **[Maresu ngire]<sub>NP</sub> [ilo-ilo-gi.]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 child 3NSG REDUP-know-NOM  
*Those children are smart (ones).*

It is particularly common for nominalisations of anticausativised verbs (§11.2.2) to occur as the predicate NP in an equational clause (70 and 72).

- 69) [Bari-ku]<sub>NP</sub> [u ma-heve.]<sub>VP</sub>  
 skirt-1SGP TEL ANTI-rip  
*My skirt (is) ripped.*
- 70) [Bari-ku]<sub>NP</sub> [ma-heve-heve-gi.]<sub>NP</sub>  
 skirt-1SGP ANTI-REDUP-rip-NR  
*My skirt is ripped. (lit. My skirt is a ripped one.)*
- 71) [No-ku bue]<sub>NP</sub> [u ma-volo.]<sub>VP</sub>  
 CL.GEN-1SGP knife TEL ANTI-break  
*My knife broke/ is broken.*
- 72) [No-ku bue]<sub>NP</sub> [ma-volo-gi.]<sub>NP</sub>  
 CL.GEN-1SGP knife ANTI-break-NR  
*My knife is broken. (lit. My knife is a broken one.)*

### 13.3.2 IDENTIFICATIONAL CLAUSES

An identificational clause is a type of equational clause, similar to a classificatory clause, but in which the identity of the object is being asserted. There is an option for a clause initial topic (73 and 74).

- 73) [Neu]<sub>TOP</sub> [hena-ku]<sub>NP</sub> [i Aaron Aka,]<sub>NP</sub> [netu-i i Leonard  
 1SG name-1SGP PERS Aaron Aka child-CONST PERS Leonard  
 Lingi.]<sub>NP</sub>  
 Lingi  
*My name is Aaron Aka, Leonard Lingi's son.*  
 (AA001)
- 74) [Rongi bigi tau lolo tahi ngihie,]<sub>TOP</sub> [hena-na]<sub>NP</sub> [sug.]<sub>NP</sub>  
 shell shellfish LOC in sea that name-3SGP sug  
*That shellfish from the sea is called 'sug'.*  
 (AA067)
- 75) Ngie [mue-i gineu]<sub>NP</sub> [no-da leo,]<sub>NP</sub> vunuu  
 but first-CONST thing CL.GEN-1NSG.INP language then  
 [lulu-de.]<sub>NP</sub>  
 tradition-1NSG.INP  
*But the first thing is our language, and then our tradition.*  
 (FRT063)



The order of the subject and predicate NPs can be reversed in identificational clauses, with the predicate occurring clause initially.

- 76) **No=vo, "Me-mu malogu ngie, ga-mu hinaga ngie."**  
 1SGS=say CL.DRINK-2SGP kava 3SG CL.FOOD-2SGP food 3SG  
*I say, "This is your kava, this is your food."*

(LK025)

- 77) **Niko ngihie!**  
 2SG that  
*That's you!* (This cheeky expression is commonly used in pointing out to the addressee someone who may be unpopular, somehow unusual, or simply in a kin relationship to the person which allows them to make jokes of this type with each other.)

An ambiguity can exist between identificational and possessive clauses, if the possessive clause has a pronoun as the fronted topic. In a sentence such as (78), the third singular independent pronoun in the first NP could represent the subject, with the third singular possessive suffix in the second NP having a different referent, in which case it would be an identity clause. If, on the other hand, the third singular pronominals are coreferential, and the third singular independent pronoun is the topic, which is cross referenced as the possessor on the head noun, then this is a possessive clause.

- 78) **[Ngie]<sub>NP</sub> [bula-na (boe).]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 3SG CL.NAT-3SGP pig  
*It is hers/his (pig). (=identificational)*  
*S/he has a pig. (=existential)*

### 13.3.3 NEGATIVE EQUATIONAL CLAUSES

In all negative equational clauses, classificatory (79) or identificational (80 and 81), the negative particle occurs between the subject and predicate NPs.

- 79) **Ngie hate a tangaloi-ni ga-garu garea.**  
 3SG NEG NOM person-CONST REDUP-swim good  
*S/he is not a good swimmer.*
- 80) **Maresu ngihie hate no-ku buluana.**  
 child that NEG CL.GEN-1SGP friend  
*That child isn't my friend.*

- 81) **Ngie ngihie hate lulu-de ngihie.**  
 but that NEG tradition-1NSG.INP that  
*But that is not our tradition.*

(FRT067)

The following example (82) demonstrates that the subject NP can be ellipsed in a negative equational clause.

- 82) **Hate takure viro-viro, ngie takure vatu-vetu.**  
 NEG sago.palm sew-REDUP but sago.palm weave-REDUP  
*It wasn't (a house) sewn with sago palm, but (a house) woven with sago palm.*  
 (Lit. *It was not sewn sago palm, but woven sago palm.*)

(AH017)

To place emphasis on the fact that an entity is not a member of a particular class, an alternative negative construction can be used. The negative particle *hate* can occur as a predicate which takes a complement clause introduced by *vo* 'say'. An appropriate translation for this negative construction would be 'It is not that...'. This alternative negative construction can also be employed in some verbal clauses to express the same type of emphasis, as discussed in §14.2.2.9.

- 83) **Hate vo gineu lague, gineu biti.**  
 NEG say thing big thing small  
*It's not that it's a big thing, it's just a small thing.*

(FRT062)

- 84) **Hate vo no-mu, ngie no-ku.**  
 NEG say CL.GEN-2SGP 3SG CL.GEN-1SGP  
*It's not yours, it's mine.*

#### 13.3.4 INTERROGATIVE EQUATIONAL CLAUSES

In interrogative equational clauses the word order is different to that found in declarative clauses, as the predicate NP, which contains the interrogative, is always fronted.

- 85) **Havena ngihie?**  
 what that  
*What's that?*

- 86) **Havena ge?**  
 what PRES  
*What's that (thing which I am pointing at)?*

- 87) **Hava manu ngihie?**  
 what bird that  
*What (kind of) bird is that?*

#### 13.4 LOCATIONAL CLAUSES

The semantic function of non-verbal locational clauses is to refer to the location of an object. They are formed either by juxtaposition of an NP and a PP which has a locative preposition as its head, or by juxtaposition of two NPs. The head noun of the predicate NP is either an absolute location noun (88), or a relational (89) or common (90) noun determined by the locative article *lo*. The true preposition *tau* 'from' (91 and 92) can occur as the head of a predicative locational PP, as can the noun-like prepositions, *lolo*- 'in' (93 and 94) and *lu*- 'on' (95 and 96).

- 88) **Mo=vo, ["Niko]<sub>NP</sub> [logo?"]<sub>NP</sub> Mo=vo, ["Neu]<sub>NP</sub> [tahingaha."]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 REAL=say 2SG where REAL=say 1SG here  
*He said, "Where are you?" He said, "I'm here."*  
 (SGH024-5)

- 89) **Mwaele lo ulu-i gineu dolegi.**  
 sky LOC above-CONST thing all  
*The sky is above everything.*

- 90) **Ngihie lo ngavulu gai-ono-gi.**  
 that LOC ten NUM-six-NOM  
*That is on the sixtieth (day).*  
 (BTD036)

- 91) **No-ku huihui tau New Zealand.**  
 CL.GEN-1SGP teacher DEN New Zealand  
*My teacher is from New Zealand.*

- 92) **Ngie hinaga gai-rue ngihie mwere vo hinaga tau tuei tamwere.**  
 but food NUM-two DEM like if food DEN before always  
*But those two types of food were always the kind of food they had before.*  
 (SN2.036)

- 93) **Ngire lolo vale.**  
 3NSG in house  
*They are in the house.*

- 94) **Tangaloi ngire ngaha tau lo-lo vanue la-lague.**  
 people 3NSG this DEN REDUP-LOC country REDUP-big  
*These people are from the big country.*

(LPD002)

- 95) **Havena ngihie lo qatu-mu?**  
 what that on head-2SGP  
*What is that on your head?*

- 96) **Ngie no-na hasi hate lu-ne.**  
 3SG CL.GEN-3SGP bad NEG on-3SGP  
*He doesn't have any badness in him.*

(LTD061)

A nonverbal clause which consists of an NP followed by a PP can be ambiguous as to whether it is a prepositional clause or an existential clause with a PP adjunct.

- 97) **Tangaloi gatigale lolo talu(-ne).**  
 person NUM:one in garden-3SGP

- a) *There is someone in the/his garden.*  
 b) *Someone is in the/his garden.*

- 98) **Dodo maeto lo ulu-de.**  
 cloud black LOC above-1NSG.INP

- a) *There were black clouds above us.*  
 b) *The black clouds were above us.*

While in some cases this ambiguity exists, and the intended meaning is only retrievable from context, in other situations the alternative reading could not possibly make sense. Sentence (99) must be an existential clause with a PP adjunct, and could not possibly be a prepositional clause, as the resultant meaning, 'The how many bones are in the human body.' is completely nonsensical.

- 99) **Hui-gi gai-vihe lolo betu-i tangaloi?**  
 bone-AL NUM-how.many in body-CONST people  
*How many bones are there in the human body?*

The only type of nonlocative PP which can be a predicate in a nonverbal clause has the verb-like purposive preposition *huri* as the head of the PP (100-103).

- 100) **Ngihie huri na bongi-ne tamwere.**  
 that PURP ACC death.feast-3SGP always  
*That was always the way for someone's funerary celebrations.*

(BTD024)

- 101) **Bataha ilo-ilo-gi tea vage huri na gamali...?**  
 I.think REDUP-know-NOM some more about ACC club.house  
*Maybe there is some more knowledge about the club house...?*  
 (SN1.089)
- 102) **Ngie huri na damu.**  
 3SG about ACC yam  
*That was about yams.*  
 (SN2.033)
- 103) **Tankyu lu-luwagi huri na rani bagataha.**  
 thank.you REDUP-much PURP ACC day today  
*Thank you very much for the day today.*  
 (SVB001)

#### 13.4.1 NEGATIVE PREPOSITIONAL CLAUSES

In a negative prepositional clause, the negative marker occurs before the PP predicate, following the subject NP (104).

- 104) **Ngie hate tau Australia.**  
 3SG NEG from Australia  
*S/he is not from Australia.*

Ambiguity of the type mentioned above, where a prepositional clause has the same form as an existential clause with a PP adjunct, is more common in negative clauses, as in this case an unmodified noun can occur as the subject NP in an existential clause (105).

- 105) **Tangaloi hate lolo vale.**  
 person NEG in house  
 a) *The person is not in the house.*  
 b) *There is no-one in the house.*

# 14

## Subordinate clauses

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### 14.1 INTRODUCTION

Subordinate clauses cannot stand on their own as independent clauses, but are dependent on a superordinate clause in the sentence. In Ambae all subordinate clauses are embedded in the superordinate (or main) clause. Different types can be distinguished according to their function within the main clause. Following Thompson and Longacre (1985:172), I distinguish three types of subordinate clauses: those which function as noun phrases (called complements), those which function as modifiers of nouns (called relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (called adverbial clauses).

In all subordinate clauses in Ambae, the subordinate clause has the same basic structure as a main clause. The word order is not varied, and if it is a verbal clause, the verb must be preceded by a subject proclitic and specified for aspect and mood. There are, however, different restrictions for different subordinate clause types. For example, with regards to relative clauses, the common argument must be realised as a noun in the main clause, and must be cross-referenced by a pronominal element in the relative clause. While all subordinate clauses have independent time reference, for some there are certain restrictions on how they are marked for aspect and mood.

### 14.2 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Following Noonan (1985:42), I define complementation as “the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate”. In such cases, a predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if “it functions as the subject or object of that predicate”. In Ambae there are no verbs which take a complement clause which is a subject argument, but as well as transitive verbs taking sentential object complements, a number of intransitive verbs, which cannot take a nominal object argument, can take a sentential complement.

Certainly not all transitive verbs have the option of taking either an NP or a complement clause as its object argument. Complement clauses are restricted to occurring as the argument of a small number of verbs which I refer to as complement taking predicates

(CTPs) after Noonan (1985). CTPs can be classified according to both the semantic class of the verb, and the type of complement which they can take. In Ambae complement types can be distinguished according to the structure of the complement itself, and which complementiser it is introduced by, if any.

The complement types which occur in Ambae are:

- sentence-like complements:
  - introduced by the complementiser (*huri*) *vo*;
  - introduced by the complementiser *mwere* *vo*;
  - paratactic complements;
- simultaneous complements; and
- nominalised complements;

Following is a list of all CTPs which occur in my data, classified according to the semantic classes set up by Noonan (1985):

- utterance predicates - *veve* 'to say, tell', *vo* 'to say', *hui* 'to ask', *varatau* 'to promise';
- propositional attitude predicates - *lado* 'to think', *lado hogo* 'to believe';
- pretence predicates - *vai kali* 'to pretend';
- evaluative predicates - *garea* 'to be good';
- predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge - *ilo* 'to know', *haro* 'to not know', *rongo rotovi* 'to understand', *hua* 'to find out, realise', *lado (bibi)* 'to remember', *(lado) galuvegi* 'to forget', *lehi* 'to see', *rongo* 'to hear', *vutugegi* 'to be surprised';
- desiderative predicates - *tarani* 'to want, need', *rau* 'to not want', *lado* 'to wish, hope';
- achievement predicates - *lado (bibi)* 'to remember', *(lado) galuvegi* 'to forget', *vai lei* 'to be able', *vai samwegi* 'to be unable', *vai lehi* 'to try';
- immediate perception predicates - *lehi* 'to see, watch', *rongo* 'to hear, feel, smell';
- negative predicates - *hate*.

Noonan (1985) recognises a number of other types which are not found in Ambae, including manipulative predicates (e.g. force, make, persuade, tell, order), which in Ambae are expressed by causative switch-subject serial verb constructions (§10.6.2.3).

## 14.2.1 COMPLEMENT TYPES

### 14.2.1.1 SENTENCE-LIKE COMPLEMENT INTRODUCED BY (*HURI*) *VO*

The most commonly occurring complement type is one introduced by the complementiser *huri* *vo*. Whereas other types are restricted to occurring as the complement of a restricted group of verbs, sentence-like complements which are introduced by *huri* *vo* are less restricted. All CTPs except *tavuigi*, which only takes a paratactic complement, and *hate*,

which only has a complement introduced by *vo*, can take a complement introduced by *huri vo*. *Huri* is also the form which introduces adverbial clauses of purpose, and is an allative, purposive preposition. *Vo* is also a verb 'to say' which introduces reported speech complements (§14.2.2.1.1), and it occurs as the second verb in a same-subject core layer serial verb construction, used for reporting direct speech (§10.6.1.4). It is not uncommon for the verb 'to say' to become a complementiser in languages where it can occur as the second verb in an SVC (Lord 1976). There are no restrictions on the form of a complement clause introduced by *huri vo*, although differences occur according to the CTP.

Sentence (1) shows the verb *veve* 'to tell' taking a complement consisting of an intransitive stative clause which describes that which is told by the subject. Note that the dative object can occur between *veve* as the CTP and its complement. In all examples the CTP is underlined, and the complement clause is enclosed in square brackets.

- 1) ...ale go=hamai go=veve lawe i gide [huri vo u  
 CONJ 2SGS=go.up:to.sp 2SGS=tell DAT PERS 1NSG.IN COMP say TEL  
 mate,] da=hivo vine.  
 die 1NSG.INS=go.down down  
*...then come up and tell us that she is dead, and we will go down.*

(JTT056)

The sentential complement can consist of a nonverbal clause, as in (2) where the CTP is *lado* 'to think' and (3) where the CTP is *veve* 'to tell'.

- 2) Ga=mo lado [huri vo uhe vorogi.]  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL think COMP say rain without.anything  
*We thought that it was just rain.*

(AH005)

- 3) ...mo vano mo veve [huri vo ga-na hinaga ngihie.]  
 REAL go REAL tell COMP say CL.FOOD-3SGP food that  
*...he went and told (him) that that was his food.*

(EK029)

In these complement clauses the complementiser can generally be reduced to *vo*, with no difference in meaning (4 and 5).

- 4) Ale siseringaha no=mo tarani [vo na=ni stori-gi  
 so now 1SGS=REAL want say 1SGS=IRR tell.story-APPL  
 na langi ue.]  
 ACC wind kill  
*So, now I want to talk about the hurricane.*

(AH001)



- 5) **Catriona, go=mo tarani [huri vo na=ni veve na hala-i**  
 Catriona 2SGS=REAL want COMP say 1SGS=IRR tell ACC way-CONST  
**veveo...?]**  
 weaving  
*Catriona, do you want me to tell about the ways of weaving...?*

(MD001)

While in my data all CTPs except *tavuigi* 'to start' take a complement introduced either by *huri vo* or simply *vo*, some verbs occur more often with the full complementiser than others. An example is the verb *rongo* which means both 'to hear' and 'to feel, sense', or it can also have an extended meaning 'to want'. When it means 'to hear' the complement is generally introduced by *huri vo* (6), but when it means 'to want' it is most commonly introduced by *vo* (7).

- 6) **No=mo rongo [huri vo ra=ru qalo.]**  
 1SGS=REAL hear COMP say 3NSGS=DL:TEL fight  
*I hear(d) that they fought.*

- 7) **No=mo rongo [vo na=ni qalo.]**  
 1SGS=REAL feel say 1SGS=IRR fight  
*I want to fight.*

Certain CTPs which can take a complement introduced by *huri vo* can omit the complementiser altogether, resulting in what is formally a paratactic construction, as described in the following section.

#### 14.2.1.2 PARATACTIC COMPLEMENTS

A paratactic complement is not introduced by a complementiser, but is apposed to the CTP. Only one CTP, *tavuigi* 'to start', always takes a paratactic complement. The fact that there is no marking of subordination could be taken as an indication that the construction is a serial verb construction, but it clearly is not for two reasons. Firstly, as it is a transitive verb, if it were the first verb in a core layer serial verb construction, its object must occur between *tavuigi* and the second verb. Second, in a serial verb construction the aspect and mood marking must agree, but if an event which started in the past is discussed, it is possible for the verb *tavuigi* to be marked for telic aspect, and for the verb of the complement clause to be marked for realis mood (9).

- 8) **Mo tavuigi [mo kalo na gai, maraga mo soi.]**  
 REAL start REAL climb ACC tree get.up REAL fall  
*She started to climb the tree, but then she fell.*  
*\*She started and she climbed the tree, but then she fell.*

- 9)      **Nu**        **tevuigi** [**no=mo**        **vano, ngie**    **retahi-ku**        **u**    **suri=eu.**]  
 1SGS:TEL start    1SGS=REAL go    but    mother-1SGP TEL stop=1SGO  
*I started to go but my mother stopped me.*

Another alternative analysis could be that these constructions consist of separate independent clauses. This is clearly not the case, as a bi-clausal interpretation would require a different meaning (see the starred translation of sentence (8)), referring to two separate events, whereas in fact a single event is referred to. Further evidence against this analysis lies in the fact that the construction consists of one intonation group.

For those CTPs which can take a complement introduced by *huri vo* but which do not require the complementiser, when the complementiser does not occur the resulting sentence has the same structure as a paratactic complement. These are all verbs which form the semantic class of predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge, such as *lehi* 'to see' (10) and *ilo* 'to know' (11). The verb *lado* can mean either 'to think' or 'to remember'. When it means 'to remember', a predicate of knowledge, it is not required that the complement clause be introduced by a complementiser (12). However, when it means 'to think', a propositional attitude predicate, the complementiser is obligatory (13).

- 10)      **No=mo**        **lehi**    [(**huri vo**)    **go=mo**        **lague.**]  
 1SGS=REAL see    COMP say    2SGS=REAL big  
*I see that you have got bigger/fatter/grown.*
- 11)      **Gu**        **ilo**        [(**huri vo**)    **ra=ni**        **vanai?**]  
 2SGS:TEL know    COMP say    3NSGS=IRR go:to.sp  
*Do you know that they'll come?*
- 12)      **Go=mo**        **lado**        [**da=ru**        **wetu**    **lolo**    **maka**    **lo**    **sigulu?**]  
 2SGS=REAL remember    1NSG.INS=DL:TEL dance    in    mud    LOC school  
*Do you remember the two of us danced in the mud at the school?*
- 13)      **Ra=mo**        **lado**        [(**huri**)    **\*(vo)**    **no=mo**        **kali.**]  
 3NSGS=REAL think    COMP say    2SGS=REAL lie  
*They think that I'm lying.*
- 14)      **Ngie**    **gamai**    **ga=mo**        **lehi**    [**da=mo**        **vai**    **na**        **gineu**  
 but    1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=REAL see    1NSG.INS=REAL do    ACC thing  
**tamwere mwere ha.]**  
 always    like        that  
*But we see that we always do things like that.*

14.2.1.3 COMPLEMENT INTRODUCED BY *MWERE VO*

Only three CTPs can take a complement clause introduced by *mwere vo*.<sup>1</sup> Two of these are the immediate perception predicates *lehi* 'to see' and *rongo* 'to hear' or 'to feel, sense'. Use of a *mwere vo* complement clause implies that what is predicated in the complement clause may not necessarily be a fact, but that what can be 'seen', 'heard', or 'felt' by the actor in the main clause can be compared with the action described by the action of the complement clause. In all examples in my data the subject of the main clause is in the first person, and the construction can usually be translated as 'It looks/sounds/feels to me/us like...'. When the CTP is *rongo* 'to feel', either the subject (17) or the object (18) of the complement clause must be coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

- 15) **Ga=mo**            **lehi** [mwere vo **go=mo**            **sege.**]  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL see like say 2SGS=REAL sick  
*It looks to us like you're sick. (Lit. We see like that you are sick.)*
- 16) **No=mo**            **rongo** [mwere vo **maresu mo ngara.**]  
 1SGS=REAL hear like say child REAL cry  
*It sounds like a child is crying. (Lit. I hear like that a child is crying.)*
- 17) **No=mo**            **rongo** [mwere vo **na=ni lue.**]  
 1SGS=REAL feel like say 1SGS=IRR vomit  
*I feel like I am going to vomit./It feels to me like I'm going to vomit.*
- 18) **Da=u**            **toa lo taragi, boro-da**            **ra=mo**  
 1NSG.INS=TEL run LOC truck bottom-1NSG.INP 3NSGS=REAL  
**ga-garasi, da=mo**            **rongo** [mwere vo **tangaloi ra=u**  
 REDUP-hurt 1NSG.INS=REAL feel like say people 3NSGS=TEL  
**wehe i gide.]**  
 hit PERS 1NSG.IN  
*We went on the truck and our bottoms hurt, and we felt like people had hit us.*

The other verb which can take a complement introduced by *mwere vo* is *vai* 'to make, do'. The meaning conveyed by such a complement is that the subject 'pretends' or 'makes out' that s/he can or did (or didn't (19)) perform the action of the verb in the complement clause. The subject of *vai* must be coreferential with the subject of the verb in the complement clause.

<sup>1</sup> Note that *mwere* means 'like' and can also introduce an adverbial clause of manner and a manner prepositional phrase, and is a stative-inchoative transitive verb and a discourse marker (§4.20).

- 19) **Go=mese vai [mwere vo go=hi rongo tea.]**  
 2SGS=DEHOR make like say 2SGS=NEG hear NEG  
*Don't pretend that/make like you didn't hear.*

- 20) **Mo vai [mwere vo u haro na gineu.]**  
 REAL make like say TEL not.know ACC thing  
*He made/makes like he didn't/doesn't know a thing.*

(21) is an example in which the complement of *vai* is a nonverbal clause introduced by *mwere vo*.

- 21) **Mo vai [mwere vo maresu biti.]**  
 REAL make like say child small  
*He acts like a baby.*

(BB2.006)

#### 14.2.1.4 SIMULTANEOUS COMPLEMENT

The most significant feature of a simultaneous complement, as suggested by the name given to the type, is that the event of the complement clause occurs at the same time as the action of the main clause. This type of complement is unmarked; it is not introduced by a complementiser. The two verbs which can take a simultaneous complement are the same as two of the ones which can take a complement introduced by *mwere vo*, *lehi* 'to see' (22), and *rongo* 'to hear' (23), feel (24), sense (25)'. These are immediate perception predicates, and what is described by the complement clause is what is 'seen', 'heard', or 'felt' by the subject of the main clause, simultaneously with the action of the main clause.

- 22) **Ga=mo lehi [gimiu ne=mo gani na ga-mai hinaga.]**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL see 2NSG 2NSGS=REAL eat ACC CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP food  
*We saw you eating our food*

- 23) **Neu no=mo rongo [na sivi mo vanai.]**  
 1SG 1SGS=REAL hear ACC ship REAL come  
*I hear(d) the boat coming.*

(97.15)

- 24) **Tauvohea ruru mo vanai, no=mo rongo [na vale mo gilū.]**  
 when earthquake REAL go:to.sp 1SGS=REAL feel ACC house  
 REAL move  
*When the earthquake happened, I felt the house shaking.*

- 25) **No=mo rongo [na bona-i avi mo gau.]**  
 1SGS=REAL sense ACC smell-CONST fire REAL burn  
*I smell the fire burning.*

These verbs can take both a simultaneous complement, and a complement introduced by *huri vo*. The difference in meaning is that in a simultaneous complement the predicate is an immediate perception predicate, and the subject perceives the action of the complement clause while it is happening (26 and 28). On the other hand, with a sentential complement introduced by *huri vo*, the predicate is a predicate of knowledge, and what is being expressed is that the subject receives evidence that the action of the complement happened/will happen (27 and 29).

- 26) **Tamaragai mo rongo [na langi mo vanai.]**  
 old.man REAL hear ACC wind REAL come  
*The old man heard the hurricane coming.*

- 27) **Tamaragai mo rongo [huri vo langi u wehe na vale-na.]**  
 old.man REAL hear COMP say wind TEL hit ACC house-3SG  
*The old man heard that the hurricane had destroyed his house.*

(97.16)

- 28) **Nu lehi [re maresu ra=mo mwoso=mwoso.]**  
 1SGS:TEL see PL child 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-play  
*I watched (saw) the children playing.*

(97.16)

- 29) **Re tubui ra=mo lehi [huri vo bot ngihie u mwedi.]**  
 PL woman 3NSGS=REAL see COMP say boat that TEL full  
*The women saw that the boat was full.*

(97.16)

It is clear that these complements are not a type of switch-subject serial verb construction (§10.6.2), as the aspect/mood marking of the two verb phrases does not necessarily agree (28), and therefore the construction must represent two clauses. It is also clear that the second clause is a complement and not a coordinate clause, as it is not possible to pause between the main clause and its complement, which would be possible if the two clauses were coordinate.

#### 14.2.1.5 NOMINALISED COMPLEMENTS

Although nominalised complements are not clauses, but regular NP complements, they are worthy of being mentioned here in comparison with their complement clause counterparts. Nominalised complements convey the same meaning as complement clauses, but they are non-finite.

- 30) **Ra=u haro na bulu-bulu vale-ra.**  
 3NSGS=TEL not.know ACC REDUP-build house-3SGP  
*They didn't know how to build their houses.* (SS003)

- 31) **Ra=u haro [(huri vo ra=ni bulu vale-ra**  
 3NSGS=TEL not.know COMP say 3NSGS=IRR build house-3NSGP  
**mwerehilogo.]**  
 how  
*They didn't know how to build their houses.*

Noonan notes that in languages which have nominalised complements, “[t]he arguments may assume associative (genitival) relationships with the predicate.” (1985:60) This is the case in Ambae, as is shown by the following examples, which contrast nominalised complements with sentence-like complement equivalents.

- 32) **Mo veve [na no-na tarani-ana.]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 REAL tell ACC CL:GEN-3SGP want-NR  
*He tells what he wants. (Lit. He tells his wants.)* (BT.p.10)

- 33) **Mo veve [huri vo mo tarani na havena.]**  
 REAL tell COMP say REAL want ACC what  
*He tells what he wants. (Lit. He tells that he wants what.)*

- 34) **Na=ni hui [na domi-mu.]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 1SGS=IRR ask ACC think-2SGP  
*I'll ask your thoughts.*

- 35) **Na=ni hui [huri vo go=mo domi-gini=e mwerehilogo.]**  
 1SGS=IRR ask COMP say 2SGS=REAL think-APPL=3SGO how  
*I'll ask what (how) you think about it.* (AW.letter)

#### 14.2.2 CLASSES OF COMPLEMENT-TAKING PREDICATES

Examples follow illustrating verbs belonging to the different classes of CTPs introduced in §14.2. In most cases the complement is introduced by *huri vo* and discussion is only given for those verbs where the construction is noteworthy in some way.

Some verbs are members of more than one semantic class, as they can have slight variations in meaning, and take different complements depending on the overall meaning of the construction. For example, *lehi* 'to see' and *rongo* 'to hear, feel, sense' take a simultaneous complement when they are being used as predicates of immediate perception, but they take a complement introduced by *huri vo* when functioning as predicates of knowledge.

#### 14.2.2.1 UTTERANCE PREDICATES

There are three CTPs which are classed as utterance predicates, where the complement clause states what has been uttered:

- *veve* 'to tell, say' (36)
- *hui* 'to ask' (37)
- *varatau* 'to promise' (38)

- 36) **Tauvohea Simon Garae Lolo mo hamai, mo veve [huri vo**  
 when Simon Garae Lolo REAL go.up:to.sp REAL tell COMP say  
**ngire mwera ra=ni hage Vila me ngire vavine.]**  
 3NSG man 3NSGS=IRR go.up Vila COM 3NSG woman

*When Simon Garae Lolo came up, he said that the men will go to Vila with the women.*

(GV001)

- 37) **Ra=mo hui=eu [huri vo na=ni vano me=ra,] neu**  
 3NSGS=REAL ask=1SGO COMP say 1SGS=IRR do COM=3NSGO 1SG  
**no=mo masingi.**  
 1SGS=REAL agree

*They asked me to go with them, and I agreed.*

(95.55)

- 38) **Pauline mo varatau [huri vo mwere vi=ni hivo**  
 Pauline REAL promise COMP say like 3SG.IRRS=IRR go.down  
**Santo.]**  
 Santo

*Pauline promised that she would/will go to Santo.*

##### 14.2.2.1.1 VO 'TO SAY'

There are two verbs in Ambae which carry the meaning 'to say': *veve* and *vo*. *Veve* is a prototypical transitive verb which takes a direct object complement which can have the form of either an NP or a complement clause, and it can also take a dative oblique object. *Vo*, on the other hand, only takes a direct object which is a complement clause, not an NP,

and it cannot take an oblique object. *Vo* is the form used to introduce reported speech, both direct and indirect, and when it takes a complement marked for irrealis mood it can also convey the meaning ‘to want to X’, where X is the predicate of the complement clause. It has already been noted (§14.2.1.1 and 14.2.1.2) that *vo*, either on its own or in combination with the complementisers *huri* or *mwere*, is the form used to introduce certain types of complement clauses.

*Veve* can mean either ‘to say’ or ‘to tell’, but it will be glossed here as ‘to tell’, in order to distinguish it from *vo*.

#### DIRECT SPEECH

When direct speech is being presented, the utterance itself is the complement and *vo* is the CTP. The complement clause is not introduced by a complementiser. *Vo* must always be used to introduce any instance of a direct speech act, whether the utterance being presented is someone talking, singing (42) or shouting (43).

- 39) **Retahi-ne mo=vo, [“Maue, na=ni mate bagataha.”]**  
 mother-3SGP REAL=say Maue 1SGS=IRR die today  
*His mother said, “Maue, I’m going to die today.”*  
 (DM065)
- 40) **Maraga ngihie mo hui burie. Mo=vo, [“Burie,**  
 get.up EMPH REAL ask bêche.de.mer REAL=say bêche.de.mer  
**go=mo hamai huri?]**  
 2SGS=REAL go.up:to.sp PURP  
*Then she asked bêche de mer. She said, “Bêche de mer, what have you come up for?”*  
 (DTT031-032)
- 41) **Mo hora=a mo hivo, mo=vo, [“Go=hivo go=leo**  
 REAL send=3SGO REAL go.down REAL=say 2SGS=go.down 2SGS=look  
**huri burie.”]**  
 PURP bêche.de.mer  
*She sent her down, and said, “go down and look out for the bêche de mer.”*  
 (DTT005)
- 42) **Ale mo singi taligu. Mo=vo, [“Hine mo hue-hue aka**  
 CONJ REAL sing again REAL=say who REAL REDUP-paddle canoe  
**hivo-lehe?”]**  
 down-DIST  
*So he sang again. He went, “Who is paddling a canoe down there?”*  
 (LS1.021-022)



- 43) **No=mo bato mwere, no=vo, "Danutooo!"**  
 1SGS=REAL shout INT 1SGS=say Danuta  
*I really shouted, I went, "Danuuuuta!"*

### INDIRECT SPEECH

When indirect speech is reported the complementiser *huri vo* is optional. Compare sentences (44) and (45), which both report the same speech act - one as a direct quote, the other as an indirect quote. Direct quotation cannot be introduced by a complementiser, whereas it is optional with the indirect quote.

- 44) **No=vo, ["Go=mese loli=e."]**  
 1SGS=say 2SGS=DEHOR do=3SGO  
*I said, "Don't do it."*
- 45) **No=vo [(huri vo) go=ni mese loli=e.]**  
 1SGS=say COMP say 2SGS=IRR DEHOR do=3SGO  
*I said that you shouldn't do it.*

Where an indirect speech complement is not introduced by a complementiser, it can be ambiguous as to whether the complement is an instance of direct or indirect discourse. The choice should generally be clear from the context (46-48).

- 46) **Ra=ru mo=vo [neu nu hesi,] ngie neu gareā-gi.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL=say 1SG 1SGS:TEL bad but 1SG good-NR  
*The two of them said (that) I am bad, but I am good.*  
 (Or possibly, but not correct in this context, *The two of them said, "I am bad", but I am good.*)

(DM013)

- 47) **Tagaro mo hora=eu mo=vo [na=ni utu na**  
 Tagaro REAL send=1SGO REAL=say 1SGS=IRR get.water ACC  
**mavai-ni ga-mai loko.]**  
 salt.water-CONST CL:FOOD-1NSG.EXP laplap  
*Tagaro sent me to get the salt water for our laplap pudding.*  
 (Or possibly, but not correct in this context, *Tagaro sent me, saying, "I'll get the salt water for our laplap pudding."*)

(BR011)

- 48) ...**tubui Mwasilesile mo=vo** [na=ni lasa na gai na wetu.]  
 woman Mwasilesile REAL=say 1SGS=IRR beat ACC wood 3SG dance  
*...old woman Mwasilesile said that I should beat the stick and she would dance.*  
 (Or possibly, but not correct in this context, *...old woman Mwasilesile said, "I'll beat the stick and s/he'll dance."*)
- (BR023)

### 'TO THINK'

*Vo* is also used colloquially to report what a person has thought about something, as an alternative to using the verb *lodo* 'to think'. It can be used regardless of whether the thought has been articulated, and is perhaps best translated by the English expression, "I said to myself..."

- 49) **No=vo** [bataha go=ni himei,] maraga hate.  
 1SGS=say I.think 2SGS=IRR go.down:to.sp get.up NEG  
*I thought you were going to come down, but no (you didn't).*
- 50) ...**ra=vo**, [bataha da=ni hi mwaso tea.]  
 3NSGS=say I.think 1NSG.INS=IRR NEG live NEG  
*...they thought that we were probably not going to live.*
- (AH013)

### 'TO WANT'

When *vo* takes a complement in which irrealis mood is marked in the verb phrase, this is a common alternative to the verb *tarani* 'to want'. The subject of *vo* and of the verb expressed in the complement must indicate the same person and number, as they must be coreferential.

- 51) **No=vo** [na=ni utu na ga-mai mavai.]  
 1SGS=say 1SGS=IRR get.water ACC CL:FOOD-1NSG.EXP salt.water  
*I want to get our salt water (for our food).*
- (BR027)
- 52) **Go=vo** [go=va logo?]  
 2SGS=say 2SGS=go where  
**No=vo** [na=ni hage Lovusi.]  
 1SGS=say 1SGS=IRR go.up Lovusi  
*Where are you going? I am going/want to go up to Lovusi.*

- 53) **Ne=vo** [ne=va logo?]   
 2NSGS=say 2NSGS=go where   
**Gamai ga=vo** [ga=ni tu lo vale.]   
 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=say 1NSG.EXS=IRR stay LOC house   
*Where do you (all) want to go? We want to stay at home.*   
 (95.19)

When *vo* has this meaning the complement clause is generally marked for irrealis mood. However, if the subject is the third person singular, the third singular form *na=* occurs, which attaches directly to the verb (54) (§9.4.1). If irrealis mood is specified in this case, the complement clause must describe either an indirect, or possible direct, speech quotation (55).

- 54) **Mo=vo** [na=hivo] [na=ga-garu lolo tahi.]   
 REAL=say 3SG=go.down 3SG=REDUP-swim in sea.   
*He wanted to go down and swim in the sea.*   
 (JG003)

- 55) **Mo=vo** [vi=ni hivo] [vi=ni ga-garu lolo tahi.]   
 REAL=say 3SG.IRRS=IRR go.down 3SG.IRRS=IRR REDUP-swim in sea.   
*S/he said that s/he will go down and swim in the sea.*   
*\*S/he wants to go down and swim in the sea.*

#### 14.2.2.2 PROPOSITIONAL ATTITUDE PREDICATES

There are two propositional attitude predicates, one of which is *lado* 'to think', and the other is *lado hogo* 'to believe', a compound formed from *lado* and *hogo* 'true'.

- *lado* 'to think, believe' (56 and 57)
- *lado hogo* 'to believe' (58 and 59)

- 56) **Go=mo lado** [vo garea-gi?]   
 2SGS=REAL think say good-NR   
*Do you think that it's good?*
- 57) **Na=hi lado tea** [vo go=ni vei na gineu hesi mwere he.]   
 1SGS=NEG think NEG say 2SGS=IRR do ACC thing bad like that   
*I didn't/don't think that you would do a bad thing like that.*
- 58) **Danuta mo lado hogo** [huri vo Pauline vi=ni hage Australia].   
 Danuta REALthink true COMP say Pauline 3SG.IRRS=IRR go.up Australia   
*Danuta believed/believes that Pauline would/will go to Australia.*

- 59) Ra=hi lado tea hogo [huri vo go=ni vei lei=e.]  
 3NSGS=NEG think NEG true COMP say 2SGS=IRR do be.able=3SGO  
*They didn't/don't believe that you could do it.*

#### 14.2.2.3 PRETENCE PREDICATE

In the discussion on serial verb constructions a type of nuclear layer construction was referred to where the second verb in the series is the verb *kali* and the meaning is 'to pretend to do X' (§10.5.3.2). Only certain intransitive verbs can take part in this construction to produce an intransitive clause, but if the first verb in the series is *vai* 'to do, make', this verb series is transitive and must take an object which is a complement clause. The complement must be introduced by the complementiser *huri vo*. The complement clause can refer to anything that it is possible for one to pretend to do, usually an action (60-62), but also in some cases a state (63).

- 60) Mo vai kali [huri vo mo maturu.]  
 REAL do lie COMP say REAL sleep  
*S/he pretended to sleep.*
- 61) Mo vai kali [huri vo ngie u geru lei.]  
 REAL do lie COMP say 3SG TEL swim be.able  
*S/he pretended that s/he knows how to swim.*
- 62) Mo vai kali [huri vo u ilo na gugu/ vatu veveo.]  
 REAL do lie COMP say TEL know ART cook weave pandanus  
*S/he pretended that s/he knows how to cook/weave.*
- 63) Nu vei keli [huri vo nu mate.]  
 1SGS:TEL do lie COMP say 1SGS:TEL die  
*I pretended that I was dead.*

Compare this with the construction mentioned above, where the verb *vai* can take a complement introduced by *mwere vo*, with a similar meaning (§14.2.1.2).

#### 14.2.2.4 EVALUATIVE PREDICATES

Evaluative predicates are those which the speaker uses to comment on her/his attitude toward something, in some way evaluating the event described in the complement clause or offering an emotional response to it. In Ambae the only predicate of this type which can take a complement is *garea* 'good'. This verb is a stative-inchoative intransitive verb, and cannot take an NP object complement. It can, however, take a complement clause in order to express the meaning, 'it is good/not good that X'.

- 64) U **garea** [huri vo da=ni vano lo voli-voli.]  
 TEL good COMP say 1NSG.INS=IRR go LOC REDUP-buy  
*It is good that we can (will) go to the wedding.*

(97.17)

- 65) Bataha vi=ni mala **garea** [(huri) vo da=ni hivo  
 I.think 3SG.IRRS=IRR quite good COMP say 2NSG.INS=IRR go.down  
**mavugo.]**  
 tomorrow  
*I think it would be better if we went tomorrow.*

The complement of the verb *garea* is introduced by *huri vo*, but use of the complementiser is optional.

- 66) U **garea** [ra=hi vano tea.]  
 TEL good 3NSGS=NEG go NEG  
*It's a good thing they didn't go.*

The verb *garea* in the main clause can be expressed in either the positive or the negative.

- 67) Hi **garea** tea [huri vo ra=mo balu na bula-da  
 NEG good NEG COMP say 3NSGS=REAL steal ACC CL.NAT-1NSG.INP  
**bulugi.]**  
 cattle  
*It is not good that they stole our cattle.*

(97.17)

#### 14.2.2.5 PREDICATES OF KNOWLEDGE AND ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE

This class of CTPs is the largest in Ambae, and includes some compounds. The verb *lado* can mean 'to remember' as well as just 'to think', but when it means 'remember', it can form a compound, *lado bibi*, where *bibi* is an adverb meaning 'tightly'. The verb 'to forget' can also be a compound, *lado galuvegi*, but *galuvegi* can occur on its own with no difference in meaning.

The CTPs in this class are:

- *ilo* 'to know' (68)
- *haro* 'to not know' (69)
- *hua* 'to find (out), discover' (70)
- *lado (bibi)* 'to remember' (71)
- *(lado) galuvegi* 'to forget' (72)
- *rongo rotovi* 'to understand' (73)

- *lehi* ‘to see’ (not with an immediate perception meaning, but ‘to see something which causes one to know’) (74)
- *rongo* ‘to hear, feel’ (not with an immediate perception meaning, but ‘to hear/feel something which causes one to know’) (75 and 76)

68) ...mo ilo [huri vo tangaloi mwere ngire lo duvi-i tehi.]  
 REAL know COMP say people like 3NSG LOC end-CONST sea  
*...he knew that there were some people in the middle of the sea.*  
 (EK069)

69) Siseringaha bataha ra=mo toga, ra=u haro [huri vo  
 now I.think 3NSGS=REAL live 3NSGS=TEL not.know COMP say  
 Catriona mo toga logo.]  
 Catriona REAL live where  
*Now I bet they are staying and they don't know where Catriona is living.*  
 (LPD020)

70) Go=ni hua [huri vo ra=u sala beno.]  
 2SGS=IRR find COMP say 3NSGS=TEL go.away already  
*You'll discover that they have already gone.*

71) Go=mo lado [da=ni hivo Lolowai mavugo?]  
 2SGS=REAL remember 1NSG.INS=IRR go.down Lolowai tomorrow  
*Do you remember that we are going to Lolowai tomorrow?*

72) Nu lado galuvegi [huri vo na=ni vei=e mwerehilogo.]  
 1SGS:TEL thing forget COMP say 1SGS=IRR do=3SGO how  
*I forgot how to do it.*

73) Go=ni rongo rotovi [huri vo tangaloi tahingaha ra=hi  
 2SGS=IRR hear understand COMP say people here 3NSGS=NEG  
 vei tea mwere he.]  
 do NEG like that  
*You will understand that people here don't do it (act) like that.*

74) No=mo lehi [huri vo go=mo dige lai.]  
 1SGS=REAL see COMP say 2SGS=REAL walk be.able  
*I see that you are able to walk.*

75) Ra=u rongo [huri vo go=ni toga tahingaha.]  
 3NSGS=TEL hear COMP say 2SGS=IRR live here  
*They heard that you are going to live here.*

- 76) ...no=mo wiri rongo=e, no=mo rongo [huri vo  
 1SGS=REAL squeeze feel=3SGO 1SGS=REAL feel COMP say  
 taqalaha gai-vihe.]  
 coco.shell NUM-how.many  
*...I squeeze it to feel, and I feel how many shells worth it is.*

(LK015)

## 14.2.2.6 DESIDERATIVE PREDICATES

There are two verbs of wanting: *tarani* and *rongo*, which also means ‘to hear, feel’. While *tarani* can be expressed in negative form (79), there is also a verb, *rau*, which means ‘to not want’. The other desiderative predicate is *lado*, which can also be a propositional attitude predicate and a predicate of knowledge, ‘to think’, but as a desiderative predicate it means ‘to hope, wish’.

- *tarani* ‘to want’ (77, 78 and 79)
- *rongo* ‘to want’ (80)
- *rau* ‘to not want’ (81)
- *lado* ‘to hope, wish’ (82)

- 77) Ra=mo tarani [huri vo ra=ni tu me i tubui  
 3NSGS=REAL want COMP say 3NSGS=IRR stay COM PERS woman  
 lo vale-ra tamwere lo vale.]  
 LOC house-3NSGP always LOC house  
*They want to stay with their wives at home all the time.*

(GV007)

- 78) Mwere, go=mo tarani [huri vo go=ni huru na qana,] ale  
 like 2SGS=REAL want COMP say 2SGS=IRR burn ACC mat so  
 go=mo vano go=waga na qegavi-i votali.  
 2SGS=REAL go 2SGS=split ACC spathe-CONST banana  
*Like, you want to dye a mat, so you go and split a banana spathe.*

(MD010)

- 79) Na=hi tarani tea [vo go=ni vano.]  
 1SGS=NEG want NEG say 2SGS=IRR go  
*I don't want you to go.*

- 80) No=mo rongo [vo na=ni vano.]  
 1SGS=REAL feel say 1SGS=IRR go  
*I want to go.*

- 81) **No=mo** **rau** [**huri vo re maresu ra=ni huri=eu**  
 1SGS=REAL not.want COMP say PL child 3NSGS=IRR follow=1SGO  
**tamwere.**]  
 always  
*I don't want the children to follow me all the time.*
- 82) **Ga=mo** **lado** [**huri vo ga=ni ahu-gi vagasigi**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL think COMP say 1NSG.EXS=IRR smoke-APPL last  
**na matui mavugo.**]  
 ACC copra tomorrow  
*We hope that we will finish smoking the copra tomorrow.*
- (95.53)

The verb *rongo*, which means 'to hear, feel, sense, want', can only carry the meaning 'to want' if it takes a sentence-like complement introduced by the complementiser (*huri*) *vo*. Conversely, it cannot have a desiderative meaning when it takes a nominal object.

- 83) **Gamai ga=mo** **tarani/ rongo** [(**huri**) **vo ga=ni**  
 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=REAL want feel COMP say 1NSG.EXS=IRR  
**hivo lo tahi.**]  
 go.down LOC sea  
*We want to go to the sea.*
- 84) **Ngie mo rongo** [**huri vo na=hala-gini=e na=lehe=a.**]  
 3SG REAL feel COMP say 3SGS=go.for-APPL=3SGO 3SGS=see=3SGO  
*He wanted to go to it and see it.*
- (DM009)
- 85) **Ga=mo** **rongo** [**huri vo aka na hage siseri siseri.**]  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL feel COMP say ship 3SG go.up quickly quickly  
*We wanted the ship to go ashore really quickly.*
- (LV)

*Tarani* 'to want' and *rau* 'to not want' are the only two verbs which can either take a complement which is introduced by the complementiser *huri vo*, or take part in a serial verb construction to express the same meaning which is indicated with a complement clause. If either of the verbs *tarani* (86) or *rau* (88) is the first verb in a nuclear layer serial verb construction, then this is a type of modal construction, conveying the meaning 'X wants/doesn't want to...' (§10.5.3.3).

- 86) **Re maresu ra=mo** **rau** **ga-garu.**  
 PL child 3NSGS=REAL not.want REDUP-bathe  
*The children don't want to bathe.*



- 87) **Re maresu ra=hi      tarani tea [huri vo ra=ni      ga-garu.]**  
 PL child 3NSGS=NEG want NEG COMP say 3NSGS=IRR REDUP-bathe  
*The children don't want to bathe.*

- 88) **No=mo      tarani gani loko-i      butete.**  
 1SGS=REAL want eat pudding-CONST sweet.potato  
*I want to eat sweet potato pudding.*

#### 14.2.2.7 ACHIEVEMENT PREDICATES

All of the CTPs in this class are compounds, formed by nuclear layer serialisation (§10.5). The three modal compounds which have *vai* 'to do' as the first verb can take a complement clause which describes the action which the subject is 'able/unable/trying' to do. Otherwise, it is the first verb in the serial verb construction which describes this action.

- *lado (bibi)* 'to remember to' (89)
- *(lado) galuvegi* 'to forget to' (90)
- *vai lei* 'to be able to' (91)
- *vai samwegi* 'to be unable to' (92)
- *vai lehi* 'to try to' (93)

- 89) **Maresu ngihie mo lado bibi [huri vo vi=ni      loli=e**  
 child that REAL think tightly COMP say 3SG.IRRS=IRR do=3SGO  
**mwerehilogo.]**  
 how  
*The child remembers how to do it.*

- 90) **Ra=mo      lado galuvegi [huri vo ra=ni      loli=e**  
 3NSGS=REAL think forget COMP say 3NSGS=IRR make=3SGO  
**mwerehilogo.]**  
 how  
*They forgot how to do it.*

- 91) **Re maresu ra=u      vei lei [vo ra=ni      hage lo-lo**  
 PL child 3NSGS=TEL do be.able say 3NSGS=IRR go.up REDUP-LOC  
**Manaro.]**  
 Manaro  
*The children were able to go up to Manaro.*

- 92) U vei samwegi [huri vo vi=ni dige.]  
 TEL make be.unable COMP say 3SG.IRRS=IRR walk  
*He couldn't walk.*

(BB2.004)

- 93) Na=ni vei lehi [vo na=ni geni=e.]  
 1SGS=IRR do see say 1SGS=IRR eat=3SGO  
*I'll try to eat it.*

#### 14.2.2.8 IMMEDIATE PERCEPTION PREDICATES

There are only two immediate perception predicates: *lehi* 'to see' and *rongo* 'to hear'. These two verbs are the only two CTPs which can take a simultaneous complement and can take any type of complement.

- *lehi* 'to see' (94 and 95)
- *rongo* 'to hear, feel' (96-98)

- 94) Vo gu lehi [na maresu u soi?]  
 say 2SGS:TEL see ACC child TEL fall  
*Did you see the child fall?*

- 95) Mo lehi [ra=ru mo gahi na ute...]  
 REAL see 3NSGS=DL REAL weed ACC place  
*He watched them weeding the garden.*

(MIT051)

- 96) No=mo rongo [na maresu biti mo ngara.]  
 1SGS=REAL hear ACC child small REAL cry  
*I hear/d a/the baby crying.*

- 97) Go=hi rongo tea [taragi mo vanai?]  
 2SGS=NEG hear NEG truck REAL go:to.sp  
*Didn't/can't you hear the truck coming?*

- 98) No=mo rongo [na lalakasi ra=mo gasi=eu.]  
 1SGS=REAL feel ACC mosquito 3NSGS=REAL bite=1SGO  
*I can feel/felt the mosquitoes biting me.*

14.2.2.9 NEGATIVE CTP *HATE*

The negative predicate *hate* can take a sentence-like complement clause introduced by *vo*. The predication made by using this construction is that the event predicated in the complement clause does/did/will not happen, and it can be literally translated as, 'It is not that...'. There is a slight difference in meaning between the usual negative construction (§9.6) and this construction, in that there is a slight suggestion that the fact that the predication of the complement clause is not true is contrary to expectation (as indicated by the literal translations of the examples in each case). The speaker would have expected the proposition to be true, but it is not. The simple negative construction does not have this added pragmatic meaning. The complement can be either a verbal (99-104) or a nonverbal clause (105-107).

- 99) **Hate** [**vo** **gu** **veve** **lawe=eu.**]  
 NEG say 2SGS:TEL tell DAT=1SGO  
*You didn't tell me.* (Lit. *It's not that you told me.*)
- 100) **Go=hi** **veve** **tea** **lawe=eu.**  
 2SGS=NEG tell NEG DAT=1SGO  
*You didn't tell me.*
- 101) **Hate** [**vo** **na=ni** **bete=a** **lawe=go.**]  
 NEG say 1SGS=IRR give=3SGO DAT=2SGO  
*I'm not going to give it to you.* (Lit. *It's not that I'm going to give you.*)
- 102) **Na=ni** **hi** **bete=a** **tea** **lawe=go.**  
 1SGS=IRR NEG give=3SGO NEG DAT=2SGO  
*I'm not going to give it to you.*
- 103) **Hate** [**vo** **ra=u** **loli** **na** **gineu.**]  
 NEG say 3NSGS=TEL do ACC thing  
*They didn't do a thing.* (Lit. *It's not that they did anything.*)
- 104) **Ra=hi** **loli** **tea** **gineu.**  
 3NSGS=NEG do NEG thing  
*They didn't do a thing.*
- 105) **Hate** [**vo** **ngie,**] **niko!**  
 NEG say 3SG 2SG  
*Not her/him, you!* (Lit. *It's not that it's her/him, (but) you!*)

- 106) (Ngie) hate [vo no-miu mwoso-mwoso,] ngie vai-ni  
 3SG NEG say CL.GEN-2NSGP REDUP-play 3SG do-CONST  
 no-ku veveo.  
 CL.GEN-1SGP weaving

*That's not your toy, that's something that I use for my weaving.*  
 (Lit. *It's not that it's your toy...*)

- 107) ...hate [vo neu tamte-gi,] neu tangaloi vurugegi taligu.  
 NEG say 1SG spirit-AL 1SG person proper again  
 ...*I'm not a spirit, I'm a real person again.* (Lit. *It's not that I'm a spirit...*)

(BB3)

Note that *hate* is a predicate which can either take a complement clause as an argument, or act as the predicate to state non-existence of an entity expressed by an NP in a nonverbal existential clause (§13.2) While in both cases it is functioning as the predicate, it is not like a verb as it cannot occur in a VP marked for a subject or aspect/mood.

It is rare for a language to have a negative predicate which can take a complement clause as an argument (Noonan 1985), but such a construction is also found in a number of Oceanic languages, including: Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988); Maori and some other Central Eastern Polynesian languages; and several languages of Papua New Guinea (Takia, North New Guinea (Malcolm Ross p.c.), and Teop (Mosel and Spriggs n.d.) and Petats (Alexandra Aikhenvald p.c.), both Meso-Melanesian languages).

### 14.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES

A relative clause is a clause which is embedded in an NP, and modifies the head of that NP. The argument of the main clause which is being modified must be coreferential with one of the arguments of the relative clause. Thus in (108) the head noun of the main clause object NP is followed by a relative clause which gives additional information about the object referent, and the object argument is coreferential with it, so the common argument is the object argument in both clauses. In all examples the relative clause, embedded within the NP, is indicated by square brackets. The common argument, as the head of the NP, and its pronominal cross-reference in the relative clause, are both underlined.

- 108) Ra=ru mo rongo [na ahi [ngihie mo singi=e.]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 3NSGS=DL REAL hear ACC song REL REAL sing=3SGO

*The two of them heard the song that he was singing.*

(MTT017)

A basic distinction can be made between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. A restrictive relative clause, like other noun modifiers, gives more detailed specification

about the referent of the head noun, so that it can be more easily identifiable. The head noun of an NP which contains a non-restrictive relative clause, however, is already fully identifiable, and thus it is not possible for it to be further specified. In this case, the relative clause serves to give additional information, which is generally relevant to the information which is given by the predicate. Relative clauses are most commonly restrictive in Ambae, although non-restrictive relative clauses do occur. The following discussion centres on the form and function of restrictive relative clauses; non-restrictive relative clauses are discussed briefly in §14.3.3.

#### 14.3.1 GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Relative clauses in Ambae are ‘external’ clauses, by which is meant that the common argument occurs outside the relative clause, within the main clause (Keenan 1985). Modifiers tend to occur after the head noun in the NP (§5.2), and this tendency extends to relative clauses, which are postnominal, but still embedded in the NP. In (109) the common argument is the subject argument in the relative clause, and an extra clausal topic which expresses the subject of the main clause, which is a nonverbal clause. The noun which represents the common argument occurs in the main clause, and is followed by the relative clause.

- 109) ...[**tangaloi** [**ngihie mo vai na gineu mo hasi ngihie,**]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> **ngie**  
           person REL REAL do ACC thing REAL bad EMPH 3SG  
**lo buri-gi dolue.**  
           LOC group-AL different  
           *...the person who did the bad thing, he is from a different group.*

(RG027)

##### 14.3.1.1 MARKING OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Relative clauses are marked by a relativiser and by intonation. The relativiser signals the beginning of the relative clause. There are two relativisers, which are distinguished to mark number of the common argument: the singular form is the same as the demonstrative *ngihie* ‘that’, and the plural form is the same as the third person plural independent pronoun *ngire*. Compare sentences (112) and (113) in which the common argument is the object of the main clause and the subject of the relative clause. The noun *tangaloi* is not marked for number and can mean either ‘person’ or ‘people’. The subject proclitic (or absence of one in the case of the third person singular) which represents the common argument in the relative clause specifies whether the common argument is singular or plural, and use of a relativiser which does not agree with the number of the common argument results in an ungrammatical sentence.

- 110) [**Tangaloi** [**ngihie mo toga vano,**]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> **mo tabana Australia.**  
           person REL REAL sit over.there REAL work Australia  
           *The person who is sitting over there works/worked in Australia.*

- 111) [**Tangalo**i [ngire ra=u loli na ga-da hinaga,]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 people REL.PL 3NSGS=TEL make ACC CL:FOOD-1NSG.INP food  
 ra=u haro na gineu.  
 3NSGS=TEL not.know ACC thing  
*Those people who made our food don't know a thing.* (i.e. they didn't make the food very well.)
- 112) Gu ilo [na **tangalo**i [ngire / \*ngihie ra=u vanai?]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 2SGS:TEL know ACC people REL.PL REL 3NSGS=TEL come  
*Do you know the people who came?*
- 113) Gu ilo [na **tangalo**i [ngihie/ \*ngire u vanai?]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 2SGS:TEL know ACC people REL REL.PL TEL come  
*Do you know the person who came?*

While the relative clause is usually introduced by a relativiser, it is not obligatory, and the relative clause can be marked purely by intonation (§14.3.1.2). In the following sentences, where the relative clause is not introduced by a relativiser, the common argument is: an object in the main clause and the relative clause (114); an oblique in the main clause and an object in the relative clause (115); and an oblique in both the main clause and relative clause (116).

- 114) Go=ni lado bibi [na **gineu** [nu veve=a lawe=go,]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 2SGS=IRR think tight ACC thing 1SGS:TEL tell=3SGO DAT=2SGO  
*You must remember what I told you.*  
 (97.25)
- 115) Neu no=mo rongo garea huri [na no-ku **nunu** [gu  
 1SG 1SGS=REAL feel good PURP ACC CL.GEN-1SGP photo 2SGS:TEL  
 hora=a tau himei,]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 send=3SGO LOC go.down:to.sp  
*I am happy about my photos which you sent (down) here.*  
 (Letter-PG)
- 116) Mo vai na no-na sitoa [lolo **vale** [gu meturu  
 REAL make ACC CL.GEN-3SGP shop in house 2SGS:TEL sleep  
 lolo-na tomue,]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 in-3SGP first  
*She is making her shop in the house that you slept in before.*  
 (Letter-PG)

## 14.3.1.2 INTONATION

Intonation plays a vital role in relative clause formation in Ambae. NPs are ideally composed of a single intonation contour, and as relative clauses are embedded in the NP, there should ideally be no pause between the head noun and the onset of the relative clause. As the singular relativiser is homophonous with the demonstrative *ngihie* 'that', and the plural relativiser is homophonous with the third plural independent pronoun *ngire*, and they directly follow the common argument nominal of the main clause, ambiguity could result in many cases, but the intonation clearly indicates whether or not there is a relative clause. If there was a pause following *ngihie* or *ngire*, this would indicate that the portion of utterance consists of an NP followed by a VP, rather than an NP in which the head noun is modified by a relative clause.

The following example (117) is composed of two sentences, each consisting of one main clause. In each sentence there is a locative NP adjunct (which is semantically temporal), in the first sentence followed by one VP, in the second by two. In the first sentence, the head of the locative NP is modified by the demonstrative *ngihie*. In the second sentence the head noun of the locative NP is modified by a relative clause which is the same as the VP in the first sentence, apart from the fact that telic aspect is indicated rather than realis mood. The structure of the locative NP of the second sentence is thus basically the same as the structure of the entire first sentence. In this instance, an NP containing a relative clause is only distinguishable from an NP followed by a VP by the intonation difference. If there was a pause after *ngihie* in the second sentence, the sentence would be translated, 'At that time, we ate inside for the last time, and they grated pudding'.

- 117) Ale, [lo-lo taro ngihie]<sub>NP</sub> [ga=mo ga-gani lolo-na  
 CONJ REDUP-LOC time that 1NSG.EXS=REAL REDUP-eat inside-3SGP  
 vagasigi.]<sub>VP</sub> [Lo-lo taro [ngihie ga=u ga-gani  
 last REDUP-LOC time REL 1NSG.EXS=TEL REDUP-eat  
 lolo-na vagasigi.]<sub>RC</sub><sub>NP</sub> ra=u raha na loko, loko-i  
 inside-3SGP last 3NSGS=TEL grate ACC laplap laplap-CONST  
 geta.  
 taro

*So at that time, we ate inside for the last time. At the time that we ate inside for the last time, they grated laplap (pudding), taro laplap.*

(MN009-010)

## 14.3.1.3 MARKING OF THE COMMON ARGUMENT IN THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

While the nominal element representing the common argument occurs within the main clause, it must be cross-referenced by a pronominal element in the relative clause, irrespective of its grammatical function. The form of the relative clause is the same as a



main clause; the verb must be marked for aspect or mood, and the arguments of the verb must be expressed. The only restriction on the form of the relative clause is that the common argument cannot appear as a full NP in the relative clause; it must be cross-referenced as a subject or object clitic, or as a possessive suffix in the relative clause, but the head noun occurs outside the relative clause, and it must only be referred to once in the NP as a nominal, and therefore it cannot also occur within the relative clause.

The common argument can normally be easily identified in the relative clause as the pronominal form which shares the same person and number marking as the noun which is being relativised. However, if there are two (or more) arguments in the main clause which have the same person and number as two (or more) arguments in the relative clause, and they occur in pronominal form in the relative clause, ambiguity can result. While the common argument is easily identified in the main clause, in such a situation it can only be determined from context which argument of the relative clause is coreferential with the relativised noun of the main clause. So in (118) the common argument has a singular referent and is the object of the main clause, but both the subject and object of the relative clause are third person singular. It is therefore not possible to determine, out of context, whether the common argument is the subject, resulting in translation (a), or the object, resulting in translation (b).

- 118) **Mo lehi [na vavine [ngihie u lehe=a garea.]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 REAL see ACC woman REL TEL see=3SGO good  
 a) *He<sub>i</sub> saw the woman<sub>j</sub> who<sub>j</sub> likes him<sub>i</sub>.*  
 b) *He<sub>i</sub> saw the woman<sub>j</sub> who<sub>j</sub> he<sub>i</sub> likes.*

In (119) the plural relative pronoun marks the relativised noun as plural in the main clause, but the interpretation of the sentence is ambiguous as to whether the common argument is the subject (a) or the ablative object (b) of the relative clause.

- 119) **Ra=u wehe [na tangaloi [ngire ra=u lei na mane**  
 3NSGS=TEL hit ACC person REL:PL 3NSGS=TEL take ACC money  
**dene=ra.]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>**  
 ABL=3NSGO  
 a) *They<sub>i</sub> hit the people<sub>j</sub> who<sub>j</sub> took the money from them<sub>i</sub>.*  
 b) *They<sub>i</sub> hit the people<sub>j</sub> who they<sub>i</sub> took the money from<sub>j</sub>.*

In (120) the common argument is the subject of the main clause, but it could be coreferential with either the subject (a) or the dative object (b) of the relative clause.

- 120) **[Maresu [ngihie u bete na mane lawe=a.]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> mo rongo garea.**  
 child REL TEL give ACC money DAT=3SGO REAL feel good  
 a) *The child<sub>i</sub> that<sub>i</sub> gave the money to her/him<sub>j</sub> was happy.*  
 b) *The child<sub>i</sub> that<sub>i</sub> s/he<sub>j</sub> gave the money to was happy.*



## 14.3.2 FUNCTION OF THE COMMON ARGUMENT

The common argument can have any grammatical function in both the relative clause and the main clause. While it is not uncommon cross-linguistically for the common argument to be able to be in almost any function in the main clause, in many languages there are restrictions as to which function the common argument can fulfil in the relative clause. Keenan and Comrie (1977) represent these restrictions in their accessibility hierarchy.

subject > direct object > indirect object > object of adposition > possessor

According to this hierarchy a language is least likely to allow the common argument to occur as a possessor in the relative clause, but if this function is allowed, then any other core or peripheral function is available to the argument in the relative clause. This is reflected in Ambae, where the common argument can have any function in the relative clause including as a possessor.

Examples demonstrating the common argument (CA) in all possible roles in both the main clause (MC) and the relative clause (RC) are shown below.

CA = Subject in MC and RC

- 121) [Tamaragai [ngihie u mate]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> mo toga Australia tuei.  
 old.man REL TEL die REAL live Australia before  
*The old man who died lived in Australia before.*

CA = Subject in MC and Object in RC

- 122) Mwere [hinaga-gi [ngihie ra=u vei=e]<sub>RC</sub> ngihie]<sub>NP</sub> u rovo  
 like food-ASS REL 3NSGS=TEL make=3SGO EMPH TEL finish  
 ngihie.  
 EMPH  
*Like, the food that they have made is finished there.*

(MN029)

CA = Subject in MC and Oblique (COM) in RC

- 123) [Mwera [ngihie nu gato me=a]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> mo sina=eu.  
 man REL 1SGS:TEL speak COM=3SGO REAL lie.to=1SGO  
*The man who I spoke with lied to me.*

CA = Subject in MC and (topic fronted) possessor in RC

- 124) [Tubui [ngihie bula-na toa ra=u belu=e]RC]NP mo mero.  
 woman REL CL:NAT-3SGP chicken 3NSGS=TEL steal=3SGO REAL angry  
*The woman whose chickens they stole was angry.*

CA = Object in MC and Subject in RC

- 125) Go=ni sog-a-gi [na gineu [ngihie vi=ni meuri]RC ngihie...]NP  
 2SGS=IRR sell-APPL ACC thing REL 3SG.IRRS=IRR grow that  
*You will sell that thing that will grow...*

(EK038)

CA = Object in MC and RC

By far the most commonly occurring type of relative clause in Ambae is one in which the common argument is the object in both the main clause and the relative clause.

- 126) Da=mo raha [na qeta-gi [ngihie da=u visa=e  
 1NSG.INS=REAL grate ACC taro-ASS REL 1NSG.INS=TEL split=3SGO  
 guwerigi.]RC]NP  
 small  
*We grate the taro that we have split into small pieces.*

(ML019)

CA = Object in MC and Oblique (LOC) in RC

- 127) Ale go=wali [na gai [ngihie gu teve=a lu-ne...]RC]NP  
 CONJ 2SGS=take ACC wood REL 2SGS:TEL cut=3SGO on-3SGP  
*Then you take the log that you had cut it on...*

(MD026)

CA = Object in MC and Oblique (INST) in RC

- 128) Da=ni hage aute, da=ni tei [na bue [ngihie  
 1NSG.INS=IRR go.up up.in.bush 1NSG.INS=IRR chop ACC bamboo REL  
 da=ni vetu na qetu-qetu-i vale gene=a]RC]NP.  
 1NSG.INS=IRR weave ACC REDUP-wall-CONST house INST=3SGO  
*We'll go up into the bush and chop down the bamboo that we will weave the walls of the house with.*

CA = Object in MC and Oblique (BEN) in RC

- 129) Nu ilo [na vavine [ngihie ra=mo bulu na vale  
 1SGS:TEL know ACC woman REL 3NSGS=REAL build ACC house  
 lawe=a.]RC]NP  
 BEN=3SGO

*I know the woman who they are building the house for.*

CA = Object in MC and possessor in RC

If the common argument is a possessor in the relative clause it surfaces as a possessive suffix on the possessee in the possessive phrase. The possessee can be in any function in the relative clause: subject of a verbal (130) or nonverbal clause (131), object (132) or oblique (133).

- 130) Gu ilo [na tangaloi [ngihie karu-ne u ma-volo?)]RC]NP  
 2SGS:TEL know ACC person REL leg-3SGP TEL ANTI-break  
*Do you know that person whose leg is broken?*

- 131) Mo gani [na rivu-rivu [ngihie hena-na 'mwetarigelegi'.]RC]NP  
 REAL eat ACC REDUP-plant REL name-3SGP kava  
*She ate the plant whose name was 'mwetarigelegi'.*

(EK044)

- 132) Nu veve lawe [na tangaloi [ngihie ra=u bulu na  
 1SGS:TEL tell DAT ACC person REL 3NSGS=TEL steal ACC  
 bula-na bulugi.]RC]NP  
 CL:NAT-3SGP cattle  
*I told the person whose cattle they stole.*

- 133) Netu-mu u tei [na maresu [ngihie ra=ru mo  
 offspring-2SGP TEL chop ACC child REL 3NSGS=DL REAL  
 mwoso-mwoso gene na no-na bue.]RC]NP  
 REDUP-play INST ACC CL:GEN-3SGP knife  
*Your son cut that child whose knife the two of them were playing with.*  
 (Lit. *Your son cut that child who the two of them were playing with his knife.*)

CA = Oblique (ABL) in MC and Subject in RC

- 134) Mo sala dene [na tangaloi [ngihie u wehe=a.]RC]NP  
 REAL go.away ABL ACC person REL TEL hit=3SGO  
*S/he ran away from the person who hit her/him.*

CA = Topic fronted Possessor (Object) of MC and Subject in RC

- 135) [Langi ue [ngihie u wehe i gamai]<sub>RC</sub> ngihie]<sub>NP</sub> ra=u veve  
 wind kill REL TEL hit PERS 1NSG.EX EMPH 3NSGS=TEL tell  
na hena-na, ra=vo 'Nigel'.  
 ACC name-3SGP 3NSG=say Nigel  
*That hurricane that hit us, they said its name was 'Nigel'.*

(AH002)

CA = Topic fronted Object of MC and Possessor in RC

- 136) [Rivu-rivu [ngihie hena-na 'mwetarigelegi']<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> garivi ngihie  
 REDUP-plant REL name-3SGP kava rat that  
mo gani=e.  
 REAL eat=3SGO  
*The plant that was called 'mwetarigelegi', that rat ate it.*

(EK045)

CA = Topic fronted Subject of MC and Subject in RC

The following example demonstrates a situation in which the head noun modified by the relative clause is an extra-clausal topic which refers to the subject of the main clause, and the main clause is nonverbal. The common argument is the subject in the relative clause.

- 137) [Gineu [ngihie mo sala]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> hate vo gineu laque, gineu biti.  
 thing REL REAL be.lost NEG say thing big thing small  
*The thing that is lost is not a big thing, it's a small thing.*

(FRT061)

## 14.3.3 NON-RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES

The following is an example of a non-restrictive relative clause. It is part of a text in which the speaker was telling me about weaving, and the ceremonial role that woven mats have. As 'sakole' mats are used as part of bride price, this relative clause cannot be restrictive, as it is not identifying a particular referent from a member of a group. Rather, the speaker, aware that I, the addressee, was not familiar with the ceremonial use of 'sakole' mats, gives this additional information in the relative clause.

- 138) Ale, ga=vatu [na sakole [ngihie ga=mo voli na  
 CONJ 1NSG.EXS=weave ACC k.o.mat REL 1NSG.EXS=REAL buy ACC

vavine gene=a.JRC]NP  
 woman INST=3SGO

*Then, we weave the 'sakole' mat that we buy a woman with.*

(LW033)

## 14.4 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses and relative clauses are both adjuncts, unlike complement clauses, which are arguments of the predicate of the main clause. While relative clauses are phrasal adjuncts modifying the head of an NP, adverbial clauses are clausal adjuncts modifying the entire main clause, "in a way similar to the way in which an adverb modifies a proposition" (Thompson and Longacre 1985:171). As with other clausal adjuncts, adverbial clauses occur at the clause periphery (§3.7), either clause initially or clause finally, and provide information about the setting of the main clause. All adverbial clauses in Ambae are introduced by a subordinator, according to the semantic function of the clause, and thus they can be classified according to semantic type, which corresponds to the subordinator which introduces that type. The types of adverbial clauses which occur are:

- Temporal clauses, introduced by (*tau*)*vohea* 'when, while';
- Manner clauses, introduced by *mwere* 'like';
- Purpose clauses, introduced by *huri* 'for';
- Reason clauses, introduced by (*huri*) *bana* 'because'; and
- Conditional clauses, introduced by *vo* 'if'

In the analysis of basic clause structure (§3), five types of clausal adjuncts were distinguished: verificationals; and temporal, locational, manner, and circumstantial adjuncts. All adverbial clauses can be grouped into one of these adjunct types: temporal clauses are temporal adjuncts; manner clauses are manner adjuncts; and purpose, reason, and conditional clauses are all circumstantial adjuncts. The types of locational adjuncts are locative PPs and NPs (§6.6).

The structure of adverbial clauses is identical to that of main clauses; the subject must be marked in the VP, both subject and object arguments can be expressed by full NPs, and there is an option for clausal adjuncts to occur. The same options are available for aspect and mood marking; there is no special marking of the verb.

### 14.4.1 TEMPORAL CLAUSES (*TAU*)*VOHEA*

In Ambae there is only one type of temporal clause, introduced by the subordinator (*tau*)*vohea* 'when, while', which characterises the event of the subordinate clause as being coincidental with the event of the main clause. The two events could therefore be understood as occurring either at the same point in time (139), or directly adjacent to each other, the event described in the main clause occurring directly after that of the temporal clause (140).

- 139) **[Tauvohea ne=mo ga-garu,] na=ni loli na hinaga.**  
 when 2NSGS=REAL REDUP-swim 1SGS=IRR make ACC food  
*While you swim, I'll make the food.*
- 140) **[Tauvohea Simon Garae Lolo mo hamai,] mo veve huri vo**  
 when Simon Garae Lolo REAL go.up:to.sp. REAL say COMP say  
**ngire mwera ra=ni hage Vila me i ngire vavine.**  
 3NSG man 3NSGS=IRR go.up Vila COM PERS 3NSG woman  
*When Simon Garae Lolo came up, he said that the men will go to Vila with the women.*
- (GV001)

The temporal relations 'before' and 'after' cannot be expressed by subordination in Ambae. In fact, a relation 'before' is not expressed, but instead this is stated simply using coordination, such that one describes the event which occurs first, and in the following clause the succeeding event is described (141). The temporal relation 'after' is expressed by a clausal adjunct which consists of an NP which is marked for locative case and contains a possessive construction with the relational noun *tagu-* 'behind' as the head (142).

- 141) **Na=ni ga-gani (tomue), vunu na=ni meturu.**  
 1SGS=IRR REDUP-eat first then 1SGS=IRR sleep  
*I'll eat, then I'll sleep.*
- 142) **Na=ni meturu lo tagu-i hinaga.**  
 1SGS=IRR sleep LOC after-CONST food  
*I'll sleep after dinner.*

Thompson and Longacre note that "in some languages which simply use a subordinating morpheme like *when* for time clauses, this morpheme may signal cause as well" (1985:181). As (143) shows, this is the case in Ambae, where not only does the adverbial clause mark the events of the subordinate and main clause as sequential, but there can also be the implication that the action of the participants in the adverbial clause results in the situation described in the main clause.

- 143) **[Tauvohea ga=vot lu-re,] ngire ra=wali mane**  
 when 1NSG.EXS=vote on-3NSGP 3NSG 3NSGS=take money  
**la-lague...**  
 REDUP-big  
*When we vote for them, they get lots of money...*
- (MP006)

While the temporal clause most commonly occurs before the main clause, representing iconically the ordering of events, it is possible for the temporal clause to occur either clause initially or finally, with no difference in meaning as in (144).

- 144) Na=ni    uli    taligu    vohea    go=ni    duvi    na    no-ku  
 1SGS=IRR write again when 2SGS=IRR answer ACC CL.GEN-1SGP  
 leta    ngaha.]  
 letter this  
*I'll write again when you answer this letter of mine.*

(letter-AW)

The previous example also shows the abbreviated form of the subordinator, *vohea*. Note that there is no difference in meaning or distribution between use of the full and abbreviated forms.

#### 14.4.2 MANNER CLAUSES *MWERE*

A manner clause is introduced by the subordinator *mwere* 'like', and states that the action described by the main clause is comparable with, in some way 'like', the event described in the subordinate clause. In (145), taken from a story relating the origin of kava, the first man to try kava finds that it affects him as it had affected the rat which he saw eating it. In (146) the protagonist in the story is telling his children to make lots of noise just as if they were all there making noise, in order to fool someone.

- 145) ...mwetarigelegi mo    wehe    na    tangaloi    ngihie    mwere    u    wehe  
       kava                REAL hit        ACC person    that    like        TEL hit  
       na    garivi    ngihie.]  
       ACC rat        that  
       ...the kava affected the man like it affected the rat.

(EK053)

- 146) Ne=laka                    [mwere    gide        da=mo            tu    da=mo  
       2NSGS=make.noise    like        1NSG.IN 1NSG.INS=REAL stay 1NSG.INS=REAL  
       laka.]  
       make.noise  
       Be noisy as if we were all here being noisy.

(LS1.026)

- 147) Mo    gato    [mwere vo mo    suru.]  
       REAL speak like    if    REAL runny.nose  
       S/he speaks/is speaking like (as if) s/he has a runny nose.

(97.22)

Unlike temporal clauses, manner clauses occur at the end of the clause. This positioning is not simply a preference for iconic ordering; it is obligatory iconic ordering. It is necessary to state first, in the main clause, the action which is being performed, before one can state the manner in which this action is to be performed. Note the reference here to ‘action’ rather than ‘event’, because a main clause which is modified by a manner clause can only have an active verb as its predicate, not a stative-inchoative verb.

The only exception to the rule of iconic ordering is with an idiomatic extension of the semantic function of manner clauses which can be translated as ‘As X said, ...’, the function of which is not to comment on the way in which the action of the main verb is performed, but rather to reiterate a proposition which has been previously expressed. In this case the subordinate clause can actually come either before or after the main clause.

- 148) [Mwere nu veve lawe=go beno,] niko go=ni vagaha na  
 like 1SGS:TEL tell DAT=2SGO already 2SG 2SGS=IRR clean ACC  
 ute, neu na=ni hivo lolo talu.  
 place 1SG 1SGS=IRR go.down in garden  
*As I already told you, you’re going to clean up the place, and I’ll go down to the garden.*

#### 14.4.3 PURPOSE AND REASON CLAUSES

According to Thompson and Longacre (1985:185),

“[m]any languages use the same morphology for purpose and reason clauses. ...The semantic explanation for the fact that one morpheme can serve these two functions is that both purpose and reason clauses can be seen as *providing explanations* for the occurrence of a given state or action. They *differ* in that purpose clauses express a motivating event which must be *unrealized* at the time of the main event, while reason clauses express a motivating event which may be *realized* at the time of the main clause event.”

In Ambae a purpose clause must be introduced by the purposive *huri* (vo), but a reason clause could be introduced by *bana* ‘because’ or by *huri*, or by a combination of the two subordinators, *huri bana*.

##### 14.4.3.1 PURPOSE CLAUSES *HURI* (VO)

A purpose clause is used to describe the motivation for the main clause event, meaning ‘in order to X’ or ‘so that X’. The purpose clause always comes after the main clause, following iconic ordering, because if the event described in the purpose clause occurs, it will usually occur after the event of the main clause (149). Even if it occurs concurrently with the main clause event (150), it could not occur before, and it is dependent on the event of the main clause.



- 149) **Hate, na=ni tataro [huri gide da=ni mwaso.]**  
 no 1SGS=IRR pray PURP 1NSG.IN 1NSG.INS=IRR live  
*No, I'll pray so that we'll live.*

(LV)

- 150) **Go=mo tu [huri go=wehi=eu...]**  
 2SGS=REAL stay PURP 2SGS=beat=1SGO  
*You stay (live) so that you can beat me...*

(VLL064)

As the event described in the purpose clause must be unrealised at the time of the event described in the main clause, while all adverbial clauses have independent time reference, generally the purpose clause is marked for irrealis mood, irrespective of the marking in the main clause. The only exception is if a habitual action is being referred to, in which case the clause can be unmarked for aspect/mood (150). The irrealis mood marking is a good means of distinguishing a purpose clause from a reason clause introduced by *huri*, as reason clauses are marked for realis mood or telic aspect, unless the event of the reason clause is not realised at the time of the main clause event.

In the above examples the subordinator simply has the form *huri*, but it could also be *huri vo*, in which case it has the same form as one of the subordinators which introduces complement clauses (§14.2.1.3). If that is the case, a purpose clause is only distinguishable from a complement clause by virtue of the fact that if the verb in the main clause is a CTP, then if there is a nominal object argument and a subordinate clause introduced by *huri vo*, the clause must be a purpose clause (153). Otherwise, if there is no nominal object argument, it must be a complement clause (154).

- 151) **Ra=mo suri gamai [huri vo ga=ni mese laka.]**  
 3NSGS=REAL stop 1NSG.EX PURP say 1NSG.EXS=IRR DEHOR make.noise  
*They stopped us so that we wouldn't be noisy.*

(SN1.002)

- 152) **Ra=ru mo teu-teu qara ngihie [huri vo hine vi=ni]**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL REDUP-put win EMPH PURP say who 3SG.IRRS=IRR  
**qara-gini=e tuegi...]**  
 win-APPL=3SGO other  
*The two of them raced to see who would beat the other one...*

(SGH016)

- 153) **No=mo lehe=a [huri vo na=ni ilo-ilo.]**  
 1SGS=REAL see=3SGO PURP say 1SGS=IRR REDUP-know  
*I'm looking at it so that I will know.*

- 154) **No=mo lehi [huri vo na=ni ilo-ilo.]**  
 1SGS=REAL see COMP say 1SGS=IRR REDUP-know  
*I see that I will know.*

#### 14.4.3.2 REASON CLAUSES (*HURI*) *BANA*

Reason clauses give some kind of explanation for the occurrence or non-occurrence of the event described in the main clause. They can occur before (155) or after the main clause, but they generally occur after. Most commonly the event of the reason clause is realised at the time of the main clause event, and it often refers to a habitual action (156 and 157) or a state (158-160).

- 155) **[Bana mo uhe,] da=hi hage tea lo-lo Manaro.]**  
 because REAL rain 1NSG.1NS=NEG go.up NEG REDUP-LOC Manaro  
*Because it rained, we didn't go up to Manaro.*

- 156) **Gato mo=vo, "Higo, niko go=ni hivo lo-lo**  
 hermit.crab REAL=say kingfisher 2SG 2SGS=IRR go.down REDUP-LOC  
**tahi [bana go=mo olo.]"**  
 sea because 2SGS=REAL fly  
*Hermit crab said, "Kingfisher, you are going to go down to the sea because you (can) fly."*

(SGH018)

- 157) **Ale gato mo=vo, "Neu na=ni huri varea [bana**  
 CONJ hermit.crab REAL=say 1SG 1SGS=IRR follow outside because  
**no=mo taka rorongo.]"**  
 1SGS=REAL crawl slowly  
*Then the hermit crab said, "I'll go along outside, because I crawl slowly."*

(SGH019)

- 158) **Go=bo vano, [bana gu hesi, gu hesi.]**  
 2SGS=APPRE go because 2SGS:TEL bad 2SGS:TEL bad  
*You shouldn't go, because you are bad, you are bad.*

(DM005)

- 159) **...da=vo ango ngihie, [bana angoga-gi.]**  
 1NSG.1NS=say turmeric EMPH because yellow-NR  
*...we say turmeric (ango) because it is yellow (angoga).*

(MD068)

- 160) **Gamai sinobu sinobu, [bana ngire tau Santo,**  
 1NSG.EX many.people many.people because 3NSG DEN Santo  
**ngire tau Ambrym...]**  
 3NSG DEN Ambrym  
*There were heaps of us, because there were those from Santo, and those from Ambrym...*

(LV)

- 161) **Hate, bula-da-ru natu na=toga, [bana da=ru mo**  
 no CL.NAT-1NSGP-DL piglet 3SGS=stay because 1NSG.INS=DL REAL  
**toga, go=hi rongo garea tea gi=eu.]**  
 live 2SGS=NEG feel good NEG INST=1SGO  
*No, our piglet will just stay where it is, because the two of us live together, and you are not happy with me.*

(VLL050)

A reason clause can be introduced by the subordinator *huri*, instead of *bana* 'because'. *Huri* also introduces purpose clauses, but it is always clear whether a purpose or reason meaning is intended, as the event described in a purpose clause cannot be realised at the time of the main clause event, and therefore if an adverbial clause is introduced by *huri*, but marked for realis mood (162) or telic aspect (163), then it must be a reason clause.

- 162) **Gamai ga=mo lehi hesi=re [huri boro-ra**  
 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=REAL see bad=3NSGO PURP bottom-3NSGP  
**ra=mo tu vorogi.]**  
 3NSGS=REAL stay without.anything  
*We don't like them because they have bare bottoms.*

(LV)

- 163) **Ra=mo rongo garea [huri u voragi buresi.]**  
 3NSGS=REAL feel good PURP TEL become tattooed.person  
*They are happy because she has become a tattooed person.*

(LT1)

A reason clause introduced by *huri* most commonly occurs after the main clause, but unlike purpose clauses, it can occur before (164).

- 164) **[Huri go=mo tarani,] no=veve=a lawe=go.**  
 PURP 2SGS=REAL want 1SGS=tell=3SGO DAT=2SGO  
*Because you wanted, I told it to you.*

Occasionally reason clauses are introduced by the combined subordinator *huri bana*, with seemingly no difference in meaning. It is possible that this emphasises the reason, but it is unclear, as there are few examples.

- 165) **Ra=mo toga, ngie mo rongo hesi tamwere [huri bana**  
 3NSGS=REAL live 3SG REAL feel bad always PURP because  
**vataha bongi, mwere tama-i netu-ne mo wehe=a.]**  
 every day like father-CONST offspring-3SGP REAL beat=3SGO  
*They lived together, and she was unhappy all the time, because every day, like,*  
*her husband beat her.*

(VLL014)

#### 14.4.4 CONDITIONAL CLAUSES *vo*

Thompson and Longacre (1985:190-1) distinguish two general types of conditional clauses, according to the semantics of the conditions described by the clause: ‘reality’ conditionals and ‘unreality’ conditionals.

Reality conditionals are those which refer to ‘real’ present, ‘habitual’ (or ‘generic’) or past situations. ...The term ‘unreality conditionals’ is used for conditionals which refer to ‘unreal’ situations. There are two types of unreal situations: those in which we *imagine* what might be or what might have been, and those in which we *predict* what will be.

All conditional clauses have the same basic structure, where the conditional clause is introduced by the subordinator *vo* ‘if’, and is followed by the main clause. The difference between different types of conditional clauses lies in the aspect/mood marking in the main clause. For reality conditionals the main clause is specified for either realis mood or telic aspect, whereas with unreality conditionals the marking is irrealis. Realis mood marking occurs in the main clause if the situation described is in the present (166), habitual (167) or past habitual (168). In these examples the aspect/mood specified in the translation is that which is appropriate according to the context of these utterances. However, note that any of these examples could have a present or habitual reading. Telic aspect marking can occur if the situation described took place in the past (169).

- 166) [**Vo ngire hate lo vale,**] **ra=mo ga-garu lolo tahi.**  
 if 3NSG NEG LOC house 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-swim in sea  
*If they’re not at the house, they’re swimming in the sea.*
- 167) ...[**vo bula-na boe lu-ne,**] **mo wehe na boe...**  
 if CL:NAT-3SGP pig on-3SGP REAL kill ACC pig  
*...if he has any pigs, he kills a pig...*

(BTD)

- 168) [Vo ra=mo domi-gi na loli boe Maevo,] ra=mo tai  
 if 3NSGS=REAL think-APPL ACC make pig Maewo 3NSGS=REAL chop  
 na aka-ra revol ngihie...  
 ACC canoe-3NSGP k.o.canoe EMPH

*If they planned a pig killing ceremony on Maewo, they would carve their  
 'revol' canoe...*

(AA005)

- 169) [Vo ngie mo tu tahu,] ngie u lehe=a.  
 if 3SG REAL stay there 3SG TEL see=3SGO

*If she was there, she saw it.*

(96.50)

Unreality conditionals, in which the main clause is marked for irrealis mood, are used to refer to a situation which it is predicted will occur, as long as the situation described in the conditional clause eventuates (170 and 171). Otherwise a conditional clause can be used to refer to a hypothetical situation (172) or one which is counterfactual (173). In counterfactual clauses, telic aspect is marked in the conditional clause. However, in both predictive and hypothetical conditionals, both clauses are marked for irrealis mood and they can only be distinguished according to the context.

- 170) Ngie [vo da=ni hivo lo tahi,] ne=ni lehi na  
 CONJ if 1NSG:INS=IRR go.down LOC sea 2NSGS=IRR see ACC  
 burie...  
 bêche.de.mer

*And if we go down to the sea, you'll see the bêche de mer...*

(DTT)

- 171) [Vo ne=ni vei didihi=e,] na=ni godo gimiu.  
 if 2NSGS=IRR make spill:APPL=3SGO 1SGS=IRR chase 2NSG

*If you spill it, I'll whip you.*

(KWM009)

- 172) [Vo na=ni geni na gatabola ngihie,] na=ni geni=e  
 if 1SGS=IRR eat ACC dragon.plum that 1SGS=IRR eat=3SGO  
 mwerehilogo?

how

*If I were to eat that dragon plum, how would I eat it?*

(LS2)

- 173) [Vo nu vei mwere ngaha,] na=ni mate.  
 if 1SGS:TEL do like this 1SGS=IRR die

*If I had done that I would have died.*

# 15

## Coordination

### 15.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter describes the formation of complex multi-clausal sentences by subordination. This chapter deals with complex coordinate structures. A number of different semantic types of coordination can be distinguished:

- conjunctive coordination (p and q);
- adversative coordination (p but q); and
- disjunctive coordination (p or q).

The constituents in a coordinate structure can be clauses and/or phrases.

Adversative and disjunctive coordination both require a conjunction, regardless of the elements being coordinated, but there are several different means of forming a conjunctive coordinate construction, and there is some variation depending on the elements being coordinated. Conjunctive coordination can be indicated by:

- one of several conjunctions;
- juxtaposition; or
- a VP which has either the verb *rovo* 'to finish', or *maraga* 'to get up', as its head.

The types and means of coordination are summarised in Table 15.1.

Type of coordination	Means of coordination	NPs	PPs	clauses
Conjunctive	juxtaposition	√	√	√
	<i>maraga</i> 'to get up'	X	X	√
	<i>rovo</i> 'to finish'	X	X	√
	<i>me(na)</i> 'with, and'	√	X	√
	<i>vunu</i> 'then'	√	√	√
	<i>siu</i> 'then'	X	X	√
	<i>ale</i> 'so, then, etc.'	X	X	√
Adversative	<i>ngie</i> 'but'	X	X	√
Disjunctive	<i>sege (vo)</i> 'or'	√	√	√

Table 15.1 Means of coordination

## 15.2 CONJUNCTIVE COORDINATION

### 15.2.1 JUXTAPOSITION

Juxtaposition is the most common means of coordinating two clauses. It is quite common for a sentence to consist of a string of clauses, with intonation the only indication of clause boundary. There is always a slight rise in intonation at the end of each sentence-internal clause, followed by a short pause. The end of the final clause in the sentence is clearly marked by falling, rather than rising, intonation, and a longer pause before the onset of the next clause. Sentence (1) begins with a conditional clause embedded in a main clause, followed by a string of juxtaposed coordinate clauses, which describe a sequence of events. Each main clause refers to the individual actions which together describe the process of building a canoe.

- 1) [[Vo ra=mo domi-gi na loli boe Maevo,] ra=mo  
 if 3NSGS=REAL think-APPL ACC make pig Maewo 3NSGS=REAL  
 tai na aka-ra revol ngihie,] [ra=u watu  
 chop ACC canoe-3NSGP k.o.canoe EMPH 3NSGS=TEL weave  
 na gabani-gi,] [ra=mo tai na sama-gi,] [ra=mo  
 ACC sail-AL 3NSGS=REAL chop ACC float-AL 3NSGS=REAL  
 tai na avue-gi,] [ra=mo wesi=e mo rovo,] [gabani  
 chop ACC boom-AL 3NSGS=REAL tie=3SGO REAL finish sail  
 mo hage, tausigi.]  
 REAL go.up k.o.sail

*If they thought of (going to) a pig-killing on Maewo, they cut their 'revol' canoe, and they wove the sail, they cut the float, they cut the boom, they bound it all up, and the sail went up, the 'tausigi' sail.*

(AA005)

The following example is taken from a narrative relating a series of activities.

- 2) [Ga=u hivo lo tahi,] [ga=mo ga-garu,]  
 1NSG.EXS=TEL go.down LOC sea 1NSG.EXS=REAL REDUP-swim  
 [ga=mo si-siu,] [ga=mo tunu ga-mai ige,]  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL REDUP-fish 1NSG.EXS=REAL roast CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP fish  
 [ga=mo rongo garea mwere.]  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL feel good INT

*We went down to the sea and we swam, and we fished, and we roasted our fish, and we really had fun.*

Whilst the clauses coordinated in the previous two examples are tied together as a unit in that they relate events in the order in which they happened to form a coherent narrative, the relationship between the predications of clauses which are juxtaposed in a sentence can be

non-temporal. The coordinated clauses can, for example, describe related facts (3), or different people performing the same action at the same time (4).

- 3) [Tuegi hena-na Wetue,] [tuegi hena-na Turere.]  
 other name-3SGP Wetue other name-3SGP Turere  
*One was called Wetue, the other was called Turere.*  
 (MTT014)

- 4) [Catriona mo mana,] [tua-na mo mana,] [haqe-na  
 Catriona REAL laugh same.sex.sib-3SGP REAL laugh op.sex.sib-3SGP  
 mo mana.]  
 REAL laugh  
*Catriona is laughing, and her sister is laughing, and her brother is laughing.*  
 (LPD011)

NPs (5 and 6) and PPs (7) can also be coordinated by juxtaposition. When object NPs are juxtaposed, the accusative article *na* only occurs before the first NP in the series (6).

- 5) [Retahi-ku,] [tama-ku] ra=ri hi siregi=eu tea.  
 mother-1SGP father-1SGP 3NSGS=DL:IRR NEG let.go:APPL=1SGO NEG  
*My mother and father won't let me go.*  
 (DM033)

- 6) ...go=ni wini [na no-mu maraha,] [no-mu boe,]  
 2SGS=IRR win ACC CL:GEN-2SGP k.o.mat CL:GEN-2SGP pig  
 [bule-mu toa.]  
 CL:NAT-2SGP chicken  
*...you will win a/some 'maraha' mats, a pig's head, and a/some chicken(s).*  
 (EK038)

- 7) ...ra=u voli na mwetarigelegi ngihie lawe na tangaloi ngihie  
 3NSGS=TEL buy ACC kava that BEN ACC person that  
 [gene toa,] [gene boe,] [gene maraha.]  
 INST chicken INST pig INST k.o.mat  
*...they bought the kava from the man with chickens and pigs and 'maraha' mats.*  
 (EK058)

### 15.2.2 TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE

Tail-head linkage is an important strategy in clause combining, and is a common feature of Oceanic languages (e.g. Tamambo (Jauncey 1997) and Lewo (Early 1994), both Vanuatu languages). It is used to link together the information given in clauses, to emphasise the



connection between a sequence of events. Tail-head linkage simply involves partial or complete repetition of the preceding clause, and can occur within or between sentences. There is rarely exact repetition of a full clause; in most cases only the VP is repeated, with both the subject and object arguments realised as clitics. In example (8), describing the process involved in making *loko* 'pudding', the speaker states each step which needs to be followed, then reaffirms this by stating that when the subject has finished performing this action, they then go on to the next step. In (8) there are three instances of tail-head linkage. In the first case the object is expressed using an NP, but when the clause is repeated the object is realised as an object enclitic. In the next two instances the clauses are the same, except that, in the repetition of the clause, verb serialisation with the verb *rovo* 'to finish' is used to indicate the completive aspect, such that the meaning expressed is, 'Do X. Finish doing X, do Y. Finish doing Y, do Z...'. In the second case of tail-head linkage in this example the object is realised as an NP in both clauses, and finally it is realised as an object enclitic in both clauses.

- 8) [...**da=mo**        **sio**        **na**    **diringi-gi.**]    [**Da=mo**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL lay.stones ACC stone.oven-ASS 1NSG.INS=REAL  
**sio=e**                **mo**    **rovo,**] [**ale** **da=mo**                **goa**        **na**  
 lay.stones=3SGO REAL finish CONJ 1NSG.INS=REAL scrape.dirt ACC  
**qeta-gi.**] [**Da=mo**                **goa**        **na**    **qeta-gi**    **vano**    **vano**    **mo**  
 taro-ASS 1NSG.INS=REAL scrape.dirt ACC taro-ASS go go REAL  
**rovo,**] [**ale**    **da=mo**                **hiba=e.**]    [**Da=mo**                **hiba=e**  
 finish CONJ 1NSG.INS=REAL peel=3SGO 1NSG.INS=REAL peel=3SGO  
**hiba=e**        **mo**    **rovo,**] [**ale**    **da=visa=e**                **mo**    **guwerigi**  
 peel=3SGO REAL finish CONJ 1NSG.INS=split=3SGO REAL small  
**tau**    **lo**    **robo**        **vano**    **mo**    **rovo.**]  
 LOC LOC large.leaf go REAL finish

*...we lay the stones for the stone oven. We lay all the stones, then we scrape the dirt off the taro. We scrape all the dirt off the taro, then we peel it. We peel all of it, then we split it all into small pieces onto a large leaf.*

(ML011-14)

The use of tail-head linkage is particularly common in the discussion of a series of events which occur in sequence in a narrative, or the series of actions which comprise a process or procedure. For example, in the text given in appendix B2, in which the speaker describes the process involved in building a house, there are 17 examples of tail-head linkage in a text which consists of 23 sentences comprised of 64 clauses.

### 15.2.3 VP AS A CONJUNCTION

A VP which has one of the intransitive verbs *rovo* 'to finish' or *maraga* 'to get up' as its head can occur clause initially to link two clauses describing events in temporal sequence.

With this conjunctive discourse function, the VPs lose their status as predicates. These VP conjunctions can be translated by ‘then’, ‘after (that)’, ‘next’, or if *rovo* is the head, the translation could also be ‘when (that’s) finished’.

### 15.2.3.1 *ROVO* ‘TO FINISH’

When a VP containing *rovo* occurs as a conjunction, it is always in the unmarked third person singular, with realis mood specified.

- 9) **Ra=mo gani=e ngihie lo avi ngihie ra=hi kui=e**  
 3NSGS=REAL eat=3SGO EMPH LOC fire REL 3NSGS=NEG bake=3SGO  
**tea tau. Ale mo rovo, mo revirevi, ra=mo vuge**  
 NEG yet CONJ REAL finish REAL afternoon 3NSGS=REAL open  
**na hinaga, ra=mo mule-mule.**  
 ACC food 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-go.home

*They eat it from the fire that they haven’t baked on yet. Then, it is afternoon, they take out the food and they all go home.*

(BTD039-40)

- 10) **Mo ware i hala-na ra=vano ra=mo tabana. Mo rovo,**  
 REAL call PERS B.in.law 3NSGS=go 3NSGS=REAL work REAL finish  
**ngie mo wehe na vavine ngihie, mo vano mo tulegini=e**  
 3SG REAL kill ACC woman that REAL go REAL bury:APPL=3SGO  
**lolo labute, vagahao dene vale-na.**  
 in bush far ABL house-3SGP

*He called his brother in law for them to go and work. After, he killed the woman and went and buried her in the bush, far from his house.*

(EK020-1)

As stated in §10.6.3.1.1, *rovo* can indicate completive aspect in a core layer SVC, as well as occurring as an independent verb and as a conjunction. Example (11) has two instances of *mo rovo*: first, it has an aspectual use as the second verb in an SVC, and second, it has a discourse function, specifying that the action described in that clause should be performed following completion of the action of the previous clause. The different functions can be distinguished on the basis of intonation patterns. When *mo rovo* occurs in an SVC there can be no intonation break between verbs in the construction. Contrastively, when *mo rovo* occurs clause initially with a discourse function in conjoining clauses, there must be a pause preceding it to indicate the clause boundary. Also, as *mo rovo* often occurs sentence initially, its status as a clause-initial conjunction rather than part of an SVC is even more clearly marked by the falling intonation at the end of the previous clause.

- 11) [Go=vehagini=e                      mo rovo,] [ale    go=mo        tau    na  
2SGS=open.out:APPL=3SGO    REAL    finish    CONJ    2SGS=REAL    put    ACC  
mehalu-gi    lo    ulu-gi.] [Mo rovo    ale    da=mo            raha  
neat.layer-AL LOC    top-AL    REAL finish    CONJ    1NSG.INS=REAL grate  
na    loko        ngihie    vi=vano        lo    mehalu-gi        aulu.]  
ACC pudding    REL        3SG.IRRS=go    LOC    neat.layer-AL up.high  
*You finish laying them out, then you put the neat layer (of leaves) on top.  
That finished, we grate the pudding that will go on top of the neat layer.*  
(ML017-8)

Examples (12) and (13), taken from the same text, with almost the same content, demonstrate how the discourse function of *rovo* carries almost the same meaning as the conjunction *vunu* 'then', discussed in §15.2.6. In the second sentence of (12) the speaker uses three conjunctions to indicate that the action of that sentence must take place after the subject has performed the action of the previous sentence.

- 12) Go=mo        teve    na    karu-keru-gi,    mo rovo    go=mo  
2SGS=REAL cut    ACC    REDUP-foot-AL    REAL finish    2SGS=REAL  
teve    na    maladiri-gi. Mo rovo. vunu    ale,    go=mo        teve  
cut    ACC    k.o.vine-AL    REAL finish    then    CONJ    2SGS=REAL cut  
na    qegavi-gi.  
ACC    design-AL  
*You cut the feet (ends of the design), then you cut the 'maladiri' vine design.  
That finished, then OK, you cut the 'qegavi' (main) design.*  
(MD017-9)
- 13) ...go=mo        teve    na    karu-keru-gi,    vunu    go=mo        teve    na  
2SGS=REAL cut    ACC    REDUP-foot-AL    then    2SGS=REAL cut    ACC  
maladiri-gi,    vunu    go=mo        teve    na    qegavi-gi.  
k.o.vine-AL then    2SGS=REAL cut    ACC    design-AL  
*You cut the feet (ends of the design), then you cut the 'maladiri' vine design,  
then you cut the 'qegavi' (main) design*  
(MD023)

The use of *mo rovo* as a conjunction is prevalent in procedural texts. The previous two examples come from a text about dyeing mats, and there are 11 instances of *mo rovo* as a conjunction in this text of 75 sentences.

### 15.2.3.2 MARAGA 'TO GET UP'

When *maraga* occurs as a predicate in a VP it carries the meaning 'to get up, rise', as in sentence (14).

- 14) **Nu inu lawagi na malogu, no=mo maraga samwegi.**  
 1SGS:TEL drink too.much ACC kava 1SGS=REAL get.up be.unable  
*I drank too much kava and I couldn't get up.*

As a conjunction, *maraga* occurs clause initially to link two events which take place in succession. When *rovo* occurs as a conjunction it always occurs in the unmarked third person singular, with realis mood specified. This is not the case with *maraga*, which shows some variation in its person/number and TAM marking. Most commonly, *maraga* is marked for the same person and number as the subject of the verb which is the head of the VP of the following clause. It generally shares the same TAM as well (15), but may show no TAM marking (16).

- 15) **Ga=mo maraga ga=mo lehi na vale gatigale ngihie.**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL get.up 1NSG.EXS=REAL see ACC house NUM:one EMPH  
*And then we saw a house.*  
 (AH016)

- 16) **Ra=ru maraga ra=ru mo hivo.**  
 3NSGS=DL get.up 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down  
*Then the two of them went down.*  
 (DTT044)

Alternatively, *maraga* may be completely unmarked, emphasising its role as a discourse marker, lacking any status as a verbal predicate.

- 17) **Maraga mo hako saloi=e, ga-na mavai, ngie**  
 get.up REAL hold miss=3SGO CL.FOOD-3SGP salt.water 3SG  
**mo siregi dare na bue-gi.**  
 REAL let.go:APPL break ACC bamboo-ASS  
*Then he drops it, the salt water for his food, and he drops and breaks the bamboo.*  
 (FRT022)

Whether marked for person/number and TAM (18) or not (19), *maraga* can be modified by the emphatic demonstrative *ngihie* 'that' when used as a conjunction.

- 18) **Mo=vo na=hivo na=ga-garu lolo tahi. Mo maraga**  
 REAL=say 3SGS=go.down 3SGS=REDUP-swim in sea REAL get.up  
**ngihie mo lehi na mena-i garawelu. Mo maraga ngihie**  
 EMPH REAL see ACC ripe-CONST k.o.banana REAL get.up EMPH

mo=vo na=hage na=kalo=e...  
 REAL=say 3SGS=go.up 3SGS=climb=3SGO

*It wanted to go down and swim in the sea. Then it saw a ripe 'garawelu' banana. Then it wanted to go up and climb it...*

(JG003-5)

- 19) Mo hamai, mo hamai sarovo. Maraga ngihie tubui  
 REAL go.up:to.sp REAL go.up:to.sp reach get.up EMPH old.woman

mo=vo, "Gu dadari?"  
 REAL=say 2SGS:TEL arrive

*It came up, it came all the way up. Then the old woman said, "You've arrived?"*

(DIT023-24)

*Maraga* is a common means of conjoining clauses in narrative discourse, particularly in traditional stories, but also when simply relating events. It is used by adults and children alike, but is particularly common in the speech of young children, who use it as a hesitation device when trying to recall the next part of a narrative or report. In the text in appendix B1, an example of a *tomutomu* 'traditional story', there are 17 instances of *maraga* used as a conjunction in a story containing 45 sentences/82 clauses. One example of a six year old's telling of a *tomutomu* contains 16 instances of *maraga* in only 19 sentences, whereas one longer *tomutomu* told by an old woman contains only two instances.

#### 15.2.4 CONJUNCTION *me(NA)* 'AND'

The conjunction *me(na)* can conjoin NPs (20-23) and clauses (24-26), but not PPs. NPs can be coordinated with *mena* regardless of whether the conjoined NP is a subject (20), object (21 and 22), or an adjunct (23).

- 20) Karu-ne mena boro-ne ra=mo eno varea.  
 leg-3SGP and bottom-3SGP 3NSGS=REAL lie outside

*Her legs and bottom were left outside (unburied).*

(EK028)

- 21) Mo maraga mo wali na no-na tael mena vai-ni  
 REAL get.up REAL get ACC CL.GEN-3SGP towel and do-CONST

no-na oel.  
 CL.GEN-3SGP oil

*Then he got his towel and his coconut oil.*

(KWM018)

- 22) Da=ni geni raes mena bulugi.  
 1NSG.INS=IRR eat rice and beef

*We'll eat rice and beef.*

- 23) **Maewo mena Pentecost ngire vunu mo uhe.**  
 Maewo and Pentecost 3NSG then REAL rain  
*On both Maewo and Pentecost it is raining.*  
 (98.14)

- 24) **Beru-i bata-ra ngaha mo labe, mena qana-ra ngaha**  
 post-CONST bed-3NSGP this REAL stand and mat-3NSGP this  
**mo dule.**  
 REAL hang  
*Their bedpost is standing and their mat (curtain) is hanging.*  
 (LD007)

- 25) **Tamaragai lavasigi ra=mo ngara mena mwalakelo mwera**  
 old.man some 3NSGS=REAL cry and youth male  
**lavasigi ra=mo ngara.**  
 some 3NSGS=REAL cry  
*Some old men were crying, and some young men were crying.*  
 (LV)

The reduced form of the conjunction, *me*, can only be used in the coordination of clauses (26), not NPs (27).

- 26) **Siseringaha langi mo here rorongo me uhe mo eno tamwere.**  
 now wind REAL blow gently and rain REAL lie always  
*Now the wind is blowing gently, and it is always raining.*  
 (RW-letter)

- 27) **...nu vei rarai na hinaga-gi mena/ \*me wakavi-gi.**  
 1SGS:TEL make ready ACC food-ASS and and meat-ASS  
*I prepared the food and the meat.*  
 (LK001)

The conjunction *me* is homophonous with the comitative/confective preposition (§6.5.6). If the linked participants in an event or situation are human, a prepositional phrase rather than a conjunction is generally used when stating the involvement of more than one participant. There are two comitative prepositions, the verb-like preposition *me*, and the noun-like preposition *to-*. If the referents are human, *to-* and *me* can be used interchangeably with no difference in meaning (28 and 29). As discussed in §6.4 *to-* can only be used with human referents, but *me* has a wider use. The status of *me* as a preposition rather than a conjunction when occurring with NPs is inconclusive, but its preposition status is evident when it occurs with an object enclitic representing the object of the preposition (30).

- 28) **Tama-na to-na/ me i retahi-ne ra=mo suri=e.**  
 father-3SGP COM-3SGP COM PERS mother-3SGP 3NSGS=REAL stop=3SGO  
*His father and his mother stopped him.*

(DM002)

- 29) **Go=lehi na nunu-i i Fiona ngaha to-na i**  
 2SGS=look ACC photo-CONST PERS Fiona this COM-3SGP PERS  
**tama-i netu-ne me i netu-re biti.**  
 father-CONST offspring-3SGP COM PERS offspring-3NSGP small  
*Look at this photo of Fiona with her husband and their baby.*

(LD002)

- 30) **Tama-miu me=ra ra=mo got.**  
 father-2NSGP COM=3NSGP 3NSGS=REAL court  
*Your father and they are having a court session.*

#### 15.2.5 CONJUNCTION *KO* 'AND'

*Ko* is a conjunction which does not occur in the Lolovoli dialect, but is a feature of the Lombaha dialect of northern Ambae. It is not clear, from the limited data on dialectal variation which I have collected, how broad the area is in which *ko* occurs, but it is not attested in the data on either the Nangire dialect to the south-west of Lombaha, or in the dialect spoken at Lolomanganda, to the north-east of Lombaha. In Lombaha *ko* appears to be a general conjunction which can coordinate phrases (32), and clauses (31). However, as little data were collected on Lombaha, no conclusive statement can be made about different coordinate structures in this dialect. Juxtaposition is also used to coordinate units at all levels in this dialect, but I am not aware of any differences as to when each type of conjunctive coordination is used.

- 31) **I Enda ko i Mary ra=ri teu=go lo turegi.**  
 PERS Enda and PERS Mary 3NSGS=DL:IRR put=2SGO LOC road  
*Enda and Mary will leave you at the road.*

- 32) **Go=ni siregi na ute ngaha, ko go=ni toga hivo**  
 2SGS=IRR let.go:APPL ACC place this and 2SGS=IRR live down  
**lo tahi.**  
 LOC sea  
*You're going to leave this place, and you're going to live down by the sea.*

15.2.6 CONJUNCTION *VUNU* 'THEN'

The conjunction *vunu* 'then' specifies that the event of the second clause takes place after the event of the first clause.

- 33) **Ale, da=vai                    vale-na            gatigale, vunu   da=vai**  
 OK 1NSG.INS=make house-3SGP NUM:one then 1NSG.INS=make  
**vale-na            gatigale.**  
 house-3SGP NUM:one

*"OK, let's make one house, then let's make another house."*

(AH032)

- 34) **Na=ni        loli=e,            da=ri                    inu=e,            vunu   da=ru**  
 1SGS=IRR make=3SGO 1NSG.INS=DL:IRR drink=3SGO then 1NSG.INS=DL  
**mo    ga-gani.**  
 REAL REDUP-eat

*I'll make it, we'll drink it, and then we'll eat.*

(EK084)

For the most part *vunu* is only used to coordinate clauses, but NPs can be coordinated if the referents of the arguments are actors or undergoers in the same action.

- 35) **Hine vi=ni                    vano tomue?**  
 who 3SG.IRRS=IRR go first  
**Neu vunu niko.**  
 1SG then 2SG

*Who will go first? Me then you.*

*Vunu* can occur at the end of a clause, when the action which could be specified in a following coordinate clause is a matter which has already been discussed. The speaker is stating that the actor(s) will do something else first, and 'then' perform the action which has been previously referred to. This strategy is most commonly used when someone says that X should do something, and the response is 'X will do Y then.', implying that X will first do Y, and then do whatever has been requested. So in (36), someone is being told to go to church, and their response, literally 'I will bathe then.' means that s/he will bathe first, and then go to church. It is as if the second clause of a coordinate construction has been ellipsed, as its content is evident from the context. In the text given in appendix B1, this pattern is repeated three times in the story. A child is telling his mother to come and breast feed his younger brother, but the mother is busy preparing her pandanus for weaving. Each time the boy tells her to come and feed the baby, her reply is, 'I'll X then.' (37).



- 36) **Go=hage go=tataro.**  
 2SGS=go.up 2SGS=pray  
**Na=ni ga-garu vunū.**  
 1SGS=IRR REDUP-bathe then  
*Go up and pray. I'll bathe first.*
- 37) **...mo=vo, "Tubui, go=vanai go=vaga-titi**  
 REAL=say woman 2SGS=go.to.sp 2SGS=CAUS-breast.feed  
**tehi-ku."**  
 y.same.sex.sib-1SGP  
**Mo=vo, "Mese beno, na=ni teve=a vunū."**  
 REAL=say DEHOR already 1SGS=IRR cut=3SGO then  
*...he said, "Woman, come and breast feed my little brother." She said,*  
*"Not yet, I'll cut it first."*

(VML007-8)

#### 15.2.7 CONJUNCTION *siu* 'THEN, THUS'

The conjunction *siu* has two senses. One is similar to *vunū* (38). The other is a resultative meaning, 'as a result, thus', stating that the event of the second clause is directly related to the event of the first clause in the coordinate construction. For example, in a text which relates the etymology of the word *malogu* 'kava' the speaker discusses the reason why kava is called *malogu*, and then sums up in a sentence introduced by *siu* (39).

- 38) **Ra=ni geni na bongi-ku vagasigi, siu mwere**  
 3NSGS=IRR eat ACC death.feast-1SGP last thus like  
**ra=mo sala-sala ngihie, ra=ni hi vei na**  
 3NSGS=REAL REDUP-go.away EMPH 3NSGS=IRR NEG make ACC  
**bongi-ku tea mwere ngihie.**  
 death.feast-1SGP NEG like that  
*They will eat my last death feast, and then they all go their separate ways,*  
*and they won't make a feast for me like that.*
- 39) **Siu gide mamingaha da=ware=a, da=vo, 'malogu'...**  
 thus 1NSG.IN today 1NSG.INS=call=3SGO 1NSG.INS=say malogu  
*Thus us today, we say, 'malogu' (kava)...*

(BTD)

(EK111)

Like *vunū*, *siu* can occur clause finally, to state that the actor(s) will do X, and only then perform an action which it has been proposed that they should perform.

- 40) **Da=ni ga-gani siu.**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR REDUP-eat thus  
*We'll eat first.*

### 15.2.8 CONJUNCTION *ALE* 'SO, THEN'

*Ale* has been borrowed from Bislama, both as a conjunction and as a commonly used interjection, meaning 'OK, alright'. *Ale* can only be used to conjoin clauses, not phrases. It generally conjoins clauses which describe sequential events. In sentence (42), for example, use of *ale* could specify either that the action of the second clause will occur after the action of the first clause, or alternatively that the two separate events will occur at the same time.

- 41) **Ale mo laque mo hage, ale mo wehe na boe vage.**  
 CONJ REAL big REAL go.up CONJ REAL kill ACC pig too  
*Then it grows up, and it kills another pig.*

(APK004)

- 42) **Gamai ga=ni hage, ale ngire ra=ni himei.**  
 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=IRR go.up CONJ 3NSG 3NSGS=IRR go.down:to.sp  
*We will go up, then/and they will come down.*

- 43) **Ale ngire ra=mo tu lo duvi-i vale, ale ngire**  
 CONJ 3NSG 3NSGS=REAL stay LOC end-CONST house CONJ 3NSG  
**ra=mo bete ga-ra tau lo duvi-i vale, ale**  
 3NSGS=REAL give CL.FOOD-3NSGP LOC LOC end-CONST house CONJ  
**ngire lo duvi-i vale ra=mo bete ga-ra.**  
 3NSG LOC end-CONST house 3NSGS=REAL give CL.FOOD-3NSGP  
*So those from one end of the house, well they give theirs to the other end of the house, and those from the other end of the house give theirs.*

(BTD)

- 44) **Mo hage mo vudolue vaga-vesi, ale mo vai na hinaga.**  
 REAL go.up REAL hundred CAUS-four CONJ REAL make ACC food  
*It goes up and reaches four hundred, and so they make a feast.*

(BTD)

### 15.3 ADVERSATIVE COORDINATION: *NGIE* 'BUT'

Adversative coordination is used to contrast related propositions. Only clauses, not phrases, can be coordinated with the adversative conjunction *ngie* 'but'.

- 45) **Ra=ru mo=vo neu nu hesi, ngie neu garea-gi.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL=say 1SG 1SGS:TEL bad but 1SG good-NR  
*They said that I am bad (ugly), but I am good (attractive).*  
 (DM013)
- 46) **Visiu ngie, mwere, ngire ra=u ilo na hena-na, ngie**  
 star 3SG like 3NSG 3NSGS=TEL know ACC name-3SGP but  
**neu na=hi ilo na hena-i visiu tea ngire.**  
 1SG 1SGS=NEG know ACC name-CONST star NEG 3NSG  
*That star, like, they knew its name, but me, I don't know the name of those stars.*  
 (AA012)

If the contrasting proposition in the second clause is a negative restatement of what was proposed in the first clause, either the verbal predicate can be repeated (47), or the proposition can simply be made by use of the negative predicate *hate* (48).

- 47) **Maevo mo uhe, ngie tahingaha hi uhe tea.**  
 Maewo REAL rain but here NEG rain NEG  
*It's raining on Maewo, but it's not raining here.*
- 48) **Maevo mo uhe, ngie tahingaha hate.**  
 Maewo REAL rain but here NEG  
*It's raining on Maewo, but not here.*

#### 15.4 DISJUNCTIVE COORDINATION: *SEGE*(*VO*) 'OR'

Disjunctive coordination is used to state two alternatives, p or q. In Ambae this is done using the conjunction *sege* (*vo*) 'or'. NPs (49), PPs (50) and clauses (51) are all available to disjunctive coordination.

- 49) **Go=vo neu sege ngie?**  
 2SGS=say 1SG or 3SG  
*Did you say me or her/him?*
- 50) **Na=ni tei=e gene bue sege (gene) talai?**  
 1SGS=IRR chop=3SGO INST knife or INST axe  
*Shall I chop it with a knife or an axe?*
- 51) **...ra=u walau-gi na aka-ra ra=mo hage**  
 3NSGS=TEL move.along-APPL ACC canoe-3NSGP 3NSGS=REAL go.up

**Maevo, sege ra=mo hage Pentecost, sege ra=mo**  
 Maewo or 3NSGS=REAL go.up Pentecost or 3NSGS=REAL

**hivo Santo.**  
 go.down Santo

*...they paddle their canoes and they go up to Maewo, or they go up to Pentecost, or they go down to Santo.*

(AA002)

Sentence (52) is an example of two locative NPs coordinated with *sege*, and it also demonstrates the alternative form of the conjunction which incorporates *vo*. *Vo* is also a subordinator 'if'. In all of the examples (52-54) the sentence is grammatical either with or without *vo*.

- 52) **Ngire ngaha mameu lolo vale sege vo varea.**  
 3NSG this maybe in house or if outside  
*Maybe they are in the house, or outside.*

(LPD008)

- 53) **...mo wali na ruqi, vi=wehe=a gene=a, sege vo mo**  
 REAL take ACC club 3SG:IRRS=kill=3SGO INST=3SGO or if REAL  
**wali na vuhu, vi=vene=a gene=a.**  
 take ACC bow 3SG:IRRS=shoot=3SGO INST=3SGO  
*...he took a club and would kill him with it, or he took a bow and would shoot him with it.*

(LTD018)

- 54) **Hate, da=hage siseri, sege vo hate, da=mo mate.**  
 no 1NSG:INS=go.up quickly or if NEG 1NSG:INS=REAL die  
*No, let's go (ashore) quickly, or if not, we die.*

(LV)

The conjunction *sege* can occur clause finally in questions, where there is no alternative proposition predicated by a coordinate clause, but the speaker is giving the addressee the option to contradict her/him, or to state an alternative.

- 55) **Na=ni rovo tahu sege...?**  
 1SGS=IRR finish there or  
*Shall I finish there or...?*

**Noku leo u rovo tahu.**  
*My talk is finished there.*

## Appendix A: table of texts

The following table contains a description of all texts which I recorded on Ambae, which constitute the main database providing the examples used in this study. For each text is listed: a reference marker for the text which occurs after each example within the body of the thesis (REF); the name of the person narrating the text; a description of the content of the text; the discourse style of the text (TYPE), whether it be: a conversation (C), a narrative (N), a *tomutomu*, which is a traditional narrative (TT), a descriptive text (D), a procedural text (P), a speech (S), or a song; and the dialect area which the speaker comes from.

REF	Speaker	DESCRIPTION of TEXT	TYPE	Dialect
AA	Aaron Aka	History of sailing and navigation	N	Lolovoli
AD	Agustin Wari	Description of photo	D	Lolovoli
AH	Anneth Bani	Description of hurricane Nigel	N/D	Longana
AL	Albert	Story of canarium nuts from Gaua	TT	Lombaha
APK	Agustin Wari	The tradition of pig-killing	N	Lolovoli
AWT	Agustin Wari	Tagaro	TT	Lolovoli
BB1	Basil Bageo	Tagaro and Saravae	TT	Lolovoli
BB2	Basil Bageo	The devil goes to Manaro	TT	Lolovoli
BB3	Basil Bageo	Toagi and his wife	TT	Lolovoli
BB4	Basil Bageo	Taribuse and Vanarue	TT	Lolovoli
BR	Rose Vevi Bani	Tagaro and his men	TT	Lolovoli
BT	Thompson Garae	Detailed discussion of tradition	N	Lolovoli
BTD	Thompson Garae	Funerary ceremonies	N	Lolovoli
CMA	Colinette Ala	A woman and her coconut	TT	Lolovoli
CML	Group	Conversation	C	Lolovoli
DIS	Group	Discussion about language loss	C	Lombaha
DM	Daisy Ata	Maue	TT	Longana
DS	Daisy Ata	Traditional songs	song	Longana
DTT	Danuta Mweta	The bêche de mer	TT	Lolovoli
EK	Edward	The origin of kava	N	Lolovoli
FRT	Fr. Reuben Tari	Sermon	S	Lolovoli
GM	Gerald Mwele	Tagaro's two children	TT	Lolovoli
GV	Gloria	A trip to Vila	N	Lolovoli

REF	Speaker	DESCRIPTION of TEXT	TYPE	Dialect
JGA	Joel Garae	Announcement in church	S	Lolovoli
JGT	Joel Garae	Speech at ceremony for new truck	S	Lolovoli
JH	Joel Garae	<i>Huge</i> (pig-killing) speech	S	Lolovoli
JMM	Joseph Mauri	Traditional marriages	N	Lolovoli
JMW	Joseph Mauri	The names of winds	N	Lolovoli
JSL	John Stephen	History of Church in Lolovake	N	Lolovake
JTT	Jenita Mweta	Tagaro and his men	TT	Lolovoli
JW	Jennifer Woi	Tagaro carves his fish	TT	Lolovoli
KGB	Kenneth Mweta	The rat and the <i>bilage</i> bird	TT	Lolovoli
KSV	Group	Taditional stories of Vuiberugu	TT	Lombaha
KV1	Kenneth Mweta	The bush nut tree (aged 6)	TT	Lolovoli
KV2	Kenneth Mweta	The bush nut tree (aged 7)	TT	Lolovoli
KWM	Kenneth Mweta	The <i>were memea</i> bird	TT	Lolovoli
LD	Laisa Vevi	Description of photo	D	Lolovoli
LLD	Lizy Wovirelau	Speaking in secret language	-	Lolovoli
LNT	Lina Vevi	<i>Noku topig</i> , a popular song	song	Lolovoli
LPD	Lizy Wovirelau	Description of photo	D	Lolovoli
LK	Leonard Lingi	How to make kava	P	Lolovoli
LLL1	Leonard Lingi	Children's songs	song	Lolovoli
LLL2	Leonard Lingi	Traditions associated with children	N	Lolovoli
LTD	Luke Toadidi	Times of war	N	Lolovoli
LW	Luisa Lingi	How to weave mats	P	Lolovoli
LS1	Lidy Tahi	The <i>tagaga lukuluku</i> spider	TT	Lolovoli
LS2	Lidy Tahi	The <i>rangmea</i> and the dragon plum	TT	Lolovoli
LT1	Luisa Lingi	How to tattoo	P	Lolovoli
LT2	Luisa Lingi	The history of tattooing	P	Lolovoli
LTT	Lina Vevi	The woman and Tagaro	TT	Lolovoli
LV	Lina Vevi	My first trip to Vila	N/D	Lolovoli
LVL	Laisa Vevi Lalau	Weu and the rat	TT	Lolovoli
LWM	Linda Woi	Tagaro and his men	TT	Lolovoli
MB	Maglenne Mweta	Description of photo	D	Lolovoli
MD	Melis Mauri	How to dye mats	P	Lolovoli
MH	Manase	The layout of a traditional village	N	Lolovoli
MHM	Moffat Garae	A trip up to Manaro (crater lakes)	N	Lolovoli
ML	Melin solomon	How to make <i>loko</i> (pudding)	P	Longana
MM	Manase	Children's traditions	N	Longana
MM1	Mary	Gigibo	TT	Longana
MM2	Mary	Tagaro and his wife	TT	Longana

REF	Speaker	DESCRIPTION of TEXT	TYPE	Dialect
MP	Margaret Matthew	Voting and politicians	N	Lolovoli
MTT	Morriel Tari	The old man	TT	Lolovoli
NM	Nelson Mwera	The <i>mwae</i> people	TT	Walurigi
NT1	Nicholson Tambe	Tagaro plants his kava	TT	Lolovoli
NT2	Nicholson Tambe	Tagaro and his men	TT	Lolovoli
RBV	Robert Boe	Speech at a ceremony for first trip away from Ambae	S	Longana
RG	Robert Garae	Politics, religion and women's affairs	N	Lolovoli
RM1	Renkin Mwele	The old woman plants her pandanus	TT	Lolovoli
RM2	Renkin Mwele	Traditional story	TT	Lolovoli
RRC	Group	Discussion about respect	C/N	Lolovoli
RS	Reuben Karu	A song to make your garden grow	song/N	Longana
RT	Roselyn Garae	The history of tattooing	N	Lolovoli
RTL	Robson Tari	The snake	TT	Lolovinu
RTR	Reuben Karu	Tagaro and the 'Rabite'	TT	Longana
RV	Roselyn Garae	The history of weaving on Ambae	N	Lolovoli
SBH	Stanley Bani	How to build a house	P	Lolovoli
SGH	Stewart Aru	The hermit crab and the kingfisher	TT	Lolovoli
SN	Stephen Vae	Living in the <i>gamali</i> as a boy	N	Lolovoli
SR	Samuel Natu	Tarimwaki	N	Lolokaro
SS	Stanley Bani	In the olden days	N	Lolovoli
SVB	Sema	Speech at a ceremony for first trip away from Ambae	S	Longana
SW1	Sarah Wari	A woman and her two grandchildren	TT	Longana
SW2	Sarah Wari	Tagaro's wife rejects him	TT	Longana
SW3	Sarah Wari	Tagaro, his wife and Buguri Mwamwalau	TT	Longana
TB	Esagel Tari Bao	Rat and his carving	TT	Lolovoli
VLL	Leah Lobe	Tagaro beats his wife	TT	Lolovoli
VML	Veronica Langa	A woman rejects her children	TT	Lolovoli

## Appendix B: texts

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Included in this appendix are transcripts of three texts, chosen to represent different discourse styles, and the speech of female and male speakers, young and old. The first text is a traditional story (a *tomutomu*) told by an 11 year old girl, the second is a procedural text, related by a middle-aged man, and the third is a speech given by an older man. All texts are unedited, including hesitations, repetitions and false starts.

### Text 1: *Tomutomu*

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The following text is an example of a *tomutomu* or *natomu*, one of the traditional stories which are taught to children from a young age. This story was told to me by Veronica Mwetari Langa, who was 11 years old at the time. She is from the hamlet of Lowaideli in Lolovoli. The text was recorded on 15th August 1996.

- 1)     **No-ku           natomu.**  
          CL.GEN-1SGP traditional.story  
       *My story.*
  
- 2)     **Mo   maraga vano ngihie tubui   mo baba...   mo baba**  
          REAL get.up go EMPH woman REAL give.birth REAL give.birth  
       **i       netu-ne           gai-rue.**  
          PERS offspring-3SGP NUM-two  
       *Once upon a time a woman had...had two children.*
  
- 3)     **Tuegi u mwere, imi, Bani, tuegi u mwere i   Peter.**  
          other TEL like   um Bani other TEL like   PERS Peter  
       *One was like, um, Bani (i.e. same age - about 2 years old), and the other one was like Peter (about 6 years old).*
  
- 4)     **Maraga ra=u           vano, tubui   mo=vo,   “De!   Da=vano,**  
          get.up 3NSGS=TEL go woman REAL=say OK 1NSG.INS=go  
       **na=ni   ngari           no-ku       veveo.”**  
          1SGS=IRR cut.pandanus CL.GEN-1SGP pandanus  
       *So they went, and the woman said, “OK! Let’s go and I’ll cut my pandanus.”*



- 5) **Ale ra=ru mo=vo, "Garea."**  
 so 3NSGS=DL REAL=say good  
*So the two of them said, "OK."*
- 6) **Ra=ru mo maraga, ra=ru mo vano.**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL get.up 3NSGS=DL REAL go  
*Then they went.*
- 7) **Ra=u vano, tubui mo ngari=e, imi, netu-ne**  
 3NSGS=TEL go woman REAL cut.pandanus=3SGO um offspring-3SGP  
**ngie mo ngara, mo=vo, "Tubui, go=vanai**  
 3SG REAL cry REAL=say woman 2SGS=go:to.sp  
**go=vaga-titi tehi-ku."**  
 2SGS=CAUS-breast.feed y.same.sex.sib-1SGP  
*They went, and the woman cut it, and um, her son cried, and he (the older child) said, "Woman, come and breast feed my little brother."*
- 8) **Mo=vo, "Mese beno, na=ni teve=a vunuu."**  
 REAL=say DEHOR already 1SGS=IRR cut=3SGO then  
*She said, "Not yet, I'll cut it first."*
- 9) **Mo hage, ra=mo tu, mo maraga mo, mo**  
 REAL go.up 3NSGS=REAL stay REAL get.up REAL REAL  
**rei=re. Mo...**  
 soften.over.fire=3NSGO REAL  
*She went up and they stayed, and then she, she softened them (the pandanus) on the fire. She...*
- 10) **Netu-ne mo ngara.**  
 offspring-3SGP REAL cry  
*Her son cried.*
- 11) **Mo=vo, "Tubui, go=vanai go=vaga-titi**  
 REAL=say woman 2SGS=go:to.sp 2SGS=CAUS-breast.feed  
**tehi-ku."**  
 y.same.sex.sib-1SGP  
*He (the older child) said, "Woman, come and breast feed my little brother."*
- 12) **Mo=vo, "Mese beno, na=ni tohe=ra vunuu."**  
 REAL=say DEHOR already 1SGS=IRR split=3NSGO then  
*She said, "Not yet, I'll split them first."*

- 13) **Mo maraga, mo tohe=a.**  
 REAL get.up REAL split=3SGO  
*Then she split it.*
- 14) **Mo maraga, mo... netu-ne mo ngara vano vano mo=vo,**  
 REAL get.up REAL offspring-3SGP REAL cry go go REAL=say  
**"Tubui, go=vanai go=vaga-titi tehi-ku.**  
 woman 2SGS=go:to.sp 2SGS=CAUS-breast.feed y.same.sex.sib-1SGP  
*Then she...her son cried until he said, "Woman, come and breast feed my little brother."*
- 15) **Mo=vo, "Mese beno, na=ni vano na=ni**  
 REAL=say DEHOR already 1SGS=IRR go 1SGS=IRR  
**kui=re vunuu."**  
 put.stone.on=3NSGO then  
*She said, "Not yet, I'll go and weigh them down with stones (in water) first."*
- 16) **Mo maraga, mo=vo, "Ale, go=mo rahagi gamaru."**  
 REAL get.up REAL=say OK 2SGS=REAL not.want:APPL 1NSG.EX:DL  
*Then he said, "OK, you don't want us."*
- 17) **Maraga, ra=ru mo singi ra=ru mo hivo.**  
 get.up 3NSGS=DL REAL sing 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down  
*Then the two of them sang as they went down.*
- 18) **Ra=ru mo hivo mo=vo, "Du'=ri hivo**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down REAL=say 1NSG.INS=DL:IRR go.down  
**du=ri dono to-ku i tehi-ku.**  
 1NSG.INS=DL:IRR drown COM-1SGP PERS y.same.sex.sib-1SGP  
**Tangi-tengi, mo malea. Gu rei veveo,**  
 REDUP-cry REAL lose.voice 2SGS:TEL soften.over.fire pandanus  
**gu rei veveo."**  
 2SGS:TEL soften.over.fire pandanus  
*The two of them went down and he went, "The two of us will go down and we'll drown, me with my little brother. Crying until he lost his voice. You softened pandanus over the fire, you softened pandanus over the fire."*

<sup>1</sup> The songs in traditional stories often contain traces of language which are not part of the modern spoken language, but which the speakers say is part of the 'language from before', suggesting that these features of the language have changed as the language has undergone change (§1.5). This variant of the first person nonsingular subject proclitic, *du=*, contrasting with the usual form, *da=*, is perhaps an earlier form of the proclitic.

- 19) **Tubui mo rongo=e.**  
 woman REAL hear=3SGO  
*The woman heard it.*
- 20) **Mo rongo=e, mo toa mo hivo, mo wali na**  
 REAL hear=3SGO REAL run REAL go.down REAL take ACC  
**no-ra mane.**  
 CL.GEN-3NSGP money  
*She heard it, and she ran down and took their money.<sup>2</sup>*
- 21) **Mo hivo mo=vo, "la, no-miru mane."**  
 REAL go.down REAL=say here CL.GEN-2NSGP:DL money  
*She went down and she said, "Here, your money."*
- 22) **Mo maraga ngihie, mo=vo, mo=vo, "Hate, bana gu**  
 REAL get.up EMPH REAL=say REAL=say no because 2SGS:TEL  
**rahagi gamaru."**  
 not.want:APPL 1NSG.EX:DL  
*Then he said, he said, "No, because you rejected us."*
- 23) **Ra=ru mo singi ra=ru mo=vo, "Du=ri**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL sing 3NSGS=DL REAL=say 1NSG.INS=DL:IRR  
**hivo du=ri dono to-ku i tehi-ku.**  
 go.down 1NSG.INS=DL:IRR drown COM-1SGP PERS y.same.sex.sib-1SGP  
**Tangi-tengi, mo malea. Gu rei veveo,**  
 REDUP-cry REAL lose.voice 2SGS:TEL soften.over.fire pandanus  
**gu rei veveo."**  
 2SGS:TEL soften.over.fire pandanus  
*The two of them sang, "The two of us will go down and we'll drown, me with my little brother. Crying until he lost his voice. You softened pandanus over the fire, you softened pandanus over the fire."*
- 24) **Mo maraga, mo toa mo hamai, mo wali na**  
 REAL get.up REAL run REAL go.up:to.sp REAL take ACC  
**no-ra, no-ra maraha.**  
 CL.GEN-3NSGP CL.GEN-3NSGP k.o.mat  
*Then she ran down and took their, their 'maraha' mat.*

<sup>2</sup> These traditional stories have clearly been passed down for many generations (many of the texts recorded by Suas (1912) are still told today, and presumably their telling has been an ongoing tradition for considerably longer than this.), and their content and basic structure is important to the retelling. Nevertheless, to the dismay of older speakers, many modern variations are creeping into the stories, particularly, as in this case, specifying items introduced by Europeans as characters' possessions.

- 25) **Mo maraga, mo hivo me=a.**  
 REAL get.up REAL go.down CON=3SGO  
*Then she went down with it.*
- 26) **Mo=vo, “la, no-miru maraha, go=bete i**  
 REAL=say here CL.GEN-2NSGP:DL k.o.mat 2SGS=give PERS  
**tehi-mu, na=ni vaga-titi=e.”**  
 y.same.sex.sib-2SGP 1SGS=IRR CAUS-breast.feed=3SGO  
*She said, “Here, your ‘maraha’ mat, give me your little brother and I’ll breast feed him.”*
- 27) **Mo=vo, “Hate, bana gu rahagi gamaru.”**  
 REAL=say no because 2SGS:TEL not.want:APPL 1NSG.EX:DL  
*She said, “No, because you already rejected us.”*
- 28) **Mo maraga, ra=ru mo singi ra=ru mo hivo.**  
 REAL get.up 3NSGS=DL REAL sing 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down  
*Then the two of them sang as they went down.*
- 29) **Ra=ru mo hivo hivo hivo mwere lo vale-miu,**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down go.down go.down like LOC house-2NSGP  
**tubui mo toa mo hamai, mo wali na bula-ra boe.**  
 woman REAL run REAL go.up:to.sp REAL take ACC CL.NAT-3NSGP pig  
*The two of them went down and down, like as far as your house and the woman came up and took their pig.*
- 30) **Mo hivo me=a, mo=vo, “la, bule-miru boe.”**  
 REAL go.down CON=3SGO REAL=say here CL.NAT-2NSGP:DL pig  
*She went down with it, and she said, “Here, your pig.”*
- 31) **Mo maraga ngihie, mo=vo, “Hate, bana gu rahagi**  
 REAL get.up EMPH REAL=say no because 2SGS:TEL not.want:APPL  
**gamaru beno.”**  
 1NSG.EX:DL already  
*Then he said, “No, because you already rejected us.”*
- 32) **Mo hivo...**  
 REAL go.down  
*He went down...*

- 33) **Ra=ru mo hivo kakarani lobe-na tahi, tubui mo toa**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down close near-ACC sea woman REAL run  
**mo hamai, mo wali na bula-ra toa.**  
 REAL go.up:to.sp REAL take ACC CL.NAT-3NSGP chicken  
*The two of them went down close to the sea, and the woman ran up and took their chicken.*
- 34) **Mo maraga, mo hivo, mo=vo, "la, bule-miru toa."**  
 REAL get.up REAL go.down REAL=say here CL.NAT-2NSGP:DL chicken  
*Then she went down and she said, Here, your chicken."*
- 35) **Mo=vo, "Ale, da=hage."**  
 REAL=say OK 1NSG.INS=go.up  
*She said, "OK, let's go up."*
- 36) **Ra=ru mo=vo, mo=vo, "Hate, gu rahagi**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL=say REAL=say no 2SGS:TEL not.want:APPL  
**gamaru beno."**  
 1NSG.EX:DL already  
*The two of them said, said, "No, you already rejected us."*
- 37) **Ra=ru mo hivo, ra=ru mo turu mo tatu**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL go.down 3NSGS=DL REAL enter.sea REAL reach  
**lo karu-re.**  
 LOC leg-3NSGP  
*The two of them went down and went into the sea up to their legs.*
- 38) **Maraga, ra=ru mo singi ra=ru mo=vo, "Du=ri**  
 get.up 3NSGS=DL REAL sing 3NSGS=DL REAL=say 1NSG.INS=DL:IRR  
**hivo du=ri dono to-ku i tehi-ku.**  
 go.down 1NSG.INS=DL:IRR drown COM-1SGP PERS y.same.sex.sib-1SGP  
**Tangi-tengi, mo malea. Gu rei veveo,**  
 REDUP-cry REAL lose.voice 2SGS:TEL soften.over.fire pandanus  
**gu rei veveo."**  
 2SGS:TEL soften.over.fire pandanus  
*Then the two of them sang, "The two of us will go down and we'll drown, me with my little brother. Crying until he lost his voice. You softened pandanus over the fire, you softened pandanus over the fire."*

- 39) **Tubui mo toa mo hamai, mo wali na bula-ra...**  
 woman REAL run REAL go.up:to.sp REAL take ACC CL.NAT-3NSGP  
**bula-ra boe.**  
 CL.NAT-3NSGP pig  
*The woman ran up, and she took their... their pig.*
- 40) **Mo maraga, mo hivo, ra=ru mo vano, ra=ru mo**  
 REAL get.up REAL go.down 3NSGS=DL REAL go 3NSGS=DL REAL  
**turu mo tatu lo mwagoro-ra.**  
 enter.sea REAL reach LOC throat-3NSGP  
*Then she went down, and the two of them went, and they went into the sea up to their throats.*
- 41) **Mo=vo, "Tubui, tubui, go=lehi i gamaru."**  
 REAL=say woman woman 2SGS=look PERS 1NSG.EX:DL  
*He said, "Woman, woman, look at the two of us."*
- 42) **Ra=ru mo maraga, ra=ru mo tara huwegi**  
 3NSGS=DL REAL get.up 3NSGS=DL REAL enter.sea go.under.water  
**vagatigale, ra=ru mo sala.**  
 CAUS:one 3NSGS=DL REAL be.lost  
*Then the two of them drowned in one go and they were lost.*
- 43) **Tuegi mo vora-gi na watu kulo, tuegi... tuegi mo vora-gi...**  
 other REAL born-APPL ACC stone round other other REAL born-APPL  
**mo vora-gi na ige biti.**  
 REAL born-APPL ACC fish small  
*One of them became a round stone, and the other... the other became...became a small fish.*
- 44) **No-ku natomu.**  
 CL.GEN-1SGP traditional.story  
*My story.*
- 45) **Dule, qalege-mu, qalege-rasa.**  
 hang heel-2SGP heel-3NSGP  
*The end. (Lit. Hang, your heel, their heel.)*

## Text 2: How to build a house

The following text describes the procedure involved in building a traditional house, with woven bamboo walls, and sago palm thatching. The narrator is Stanley Bani, aged 40 years, of Lowaideli hamlet, Lolovoli. The text was recored on 3rd November 1995.

- 46) **Da=mo tarani vo da=bulu na vale-da,**  
 INSG.INS=REAL want say INSG.INS=build ACC house-1NSG.INP  
**da=mo tai na takure tomue.**  
 INSG.INS=REAL chop ACC sago.palm first  
*If we want to build our house, we cut the sago palm first.*
- 47) **Da=mo tai na takure-gi sara vanai,**  
 INSG.INS=REAL chop ACC sago.palm-ASS LOC.PL go:to.sp  
**da=mo dueli=re.**  
 INSG.INS=REAL remove.mid.vein=3NSGO  
*We cut the sago palm leaves for it and bring them, and then we remove the mid-vein from them.*
- 48) **Da=mo dueli=e, vo da=u tei na**  
 INSG.INS=REAL remove.mid.vein=3SGO if INSG.INS=TEL chop ACC  
**takure-gi lague lawagi, da=veve lawe na tangaloi**  
 sago.palm-ASS big too.much INSG.INS=tell DAT ACC people  
**ra=vanai ra=mo bului gide, da=mo**  
 3NSGS=go:to.sp 3NSGS=REAL help INSG.IN INSG.INS=REAL  
**dueli=e.**  
 remove.mid.vein=3SGO  
*We remove the mid-veins, and if we cut too much sago palm for it, we tell some people to come and help us, and we remove the mid-veins.*
- 49) **Da=mo dueli=re vano vano mo rovo,**  
 INSG.INS=REAL remove.mid.vein=3NSGO go go REAL finish  
**da=mo tau=re vurugegi ra=mo eno.**  
 INSG.INS=REAL put=3NSGO properly 3NSGS=REAL lie  
*We remove all of the mid-veins, and then we put them aside carefully.*
- 50) **Vunu da=mo tegiri na sine-gi.**  
 then INSG.INS=REAL scrape.clean ACC mid.vein-AL  
*Then we scrape clean the mid-veins.*

- 51) **Da=mo tegiri na sine-gi vano vano mo rovo,**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL scrape.clean ACC mid.vein-AL go go REAL finish  
**da=mo tai na gaho-gi.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC reed-ASS  
*We scrape clean all of the mid-veins, and we cut the reeds for it.*
- 52) **Da=mo tai na gaho-gi sara vanai... vano vano mo**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC reed-ASS LOC.PL go:to.sp go go REAL  
**rovo, da=mo veve lawe na tangaloi... gai-rue sege**  
 finish 1NSG.INS=REAL tell DAT ACC people NUM-two or  
**gai-tolu sege gai-vesi sege gai-lime ra=vanai ra=mo**  
 NUM-three or NUM-four or NUM-five 3NSGS=go:to.sp 3NSGS=REAL  
**viro=e, ra=mo viro na takure.**  
 sew.sago=3SGO 3NSGS=REAL sew.sago ACC sago.palm  
*We cut and bring all the reeds, and then we tell some people... two or three or four or five, to come and sew it, sew the sago leaves.*
- 53) **Ra=mo viro=e vano vano u rovo, ale da=mo tau**  
 3NSGS=REAL sew=3SGO go go TEL finish so 1NSG.INS=REAL put  
**vurugegi-ni=re.**  
 properly-TR=3NSGO  
*They sew it all up, and then we put it carefully aside.*
- 54) **Da=mo tau vurugegi-ni=re mo rovo, da=veve**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL put properly-TR=3NSGO REAL finish, 1NSG.INS=tell  
**lawe na tangaloi taligu.**  
 DAT ACC people again  
*We put them all aside carefully, and then we tell the people again.*
- 55) **Da=vanai, da=mo vagaha na tano-i vale,**  
 1NSG.INS=go:to.sp 1NSG.INS=REAL clean ACC place-CONST house  
**da=mo tai vohogi na gai, da=mo geli**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL chop completely ACC tree 1NSG.INS=REAL dig  
**vo-vohogi na qatu-re, da=mo geli vage**  
 REDUP-completely ACC stump-3NSGP 1NSG.INS=REAL dig too  
**minu-gi na tano-tano-i vale mwere vi=labe**  
 smooth-NR ACC REDUP-place-CONST house like 3SG.IRRS=stand  
**lo ute mwere da=u vagaha=a, ale da=vano**  
 LOC place like 1NSG.INS=TEL clean=3SGO so 1NSG.INS=go



**da=mo tai na beru.**

1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC post

*We come and we clear the area for the house; we chop down all the trees, and we dig out all their stumps, and we dig the area for the house so that it is smooth, like it will stand on the spot that we have cleared, and then we go and chop the house posts.*

56) **Da=mo tai na beru, da=vanai me=ra.**

1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC post 1NSG.INS=go:to.sp CON=3NSGO

*We chop the house posts and we come back with them.*

57) **Beru-gi, da=vanai me=ra, mena gai saro-saro-gi,**  
post-ASS 1NSG.INS=go:to.sp CON=3NSGO and wood REDUP-lie-ASS

**da=vanai me=ra, da=mo geli=e.**

1NSG.INS=go:to.sp CON=3NSGO 1NSG.INS=REAL dig=3SGO

*The house posts, we come with them, and the beams, we come with them, and we dig it.*

58) **Da=mo geli=e, da=mo geli na beru-hune**

1NSG.INS=REAL dig=3SGO 1NSG.INS=REAL dig ACC post-umbrella

**tomue, vunu da=mo geli na soisoe.**

first then 1NSG.INS=REAL dig ACC side.post

*We dig it, we dig the (holes for the) central posts first, then we dig the (holes for the) side posts.*

59) **Da=mo geli=e vano vano mo rovo... lo rani dolue**

1NSG.INS=REAL dig=3SGO go go REAL finish LOC day different

**da=mo tai na bue-gi, da=mo tugu**

1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC bamboo-ASS 1NSG.INS=REAL pull.down

**na garo-gi.**

ACC vine-ASS

*We finish digging it...and the next day we cut the bamboo for it, and we pull down the vines for it.*

60) **Da=u lako na bue-gi mena garo-gi u rovo,**

1NSG.INS=TEL prepare ACC bamboo-ASS and vine-ASS TEL finish

**ale da=veve lawe na tangaloi taligu, gai-rue sege gai-tolu**

so 1NSG.INS=tell DAT ART people again NUM-two or NUM-three

**ra=vanai ra=wesi na bue-i vale.**

3NSGS=go:to.sp 3NSGS=tie ACC bamboo-CONST house

*We have finished preparing the bamboo and the vines for it, and so we tell some people again, two or three, to come and tie the bamboo for the house.*

- 61) **Ra=wesi=e, ra=mo turu=e.**  
 3NSGS=tie=3SGO 3NSGS=REAL bind=3SGO  
*They tie it, and they bind it.*
- 62) **Ra=mo turu tangtau na vale, da=mo tai na**  
 3NSGS=REAL bind complete ACC house INSG.INS=REAL chop ACC  
**bue taligu huri na qetu-qetu-gi.**  
 bamboo again PURP ACC REDUP-wall-AL  
*They bind up the whole (roof of the) house, and then they cut some bamboo again for the walls.*
- 63) **Da=mo mag na hao-i bue mo hage lo**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL mark ACC length-CONST bamboo REAL go.up LOC  
**tavalu-gi, lo tavalu-gi, lo nago-gi, lo nago-gi.**  
 side-AL LOC side-AL LOC front-AL LOC front-AL  
*We mark the lengths of bamboo going up on one side and on the other side, and on one end and on the other end.*
- 64) **Ale da=mo tai na bue-gi sara vanai,**  
 so 1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC bamboo-ASS LOC.PL go.to.sp  
**da=mo maraga, da=mo tai waga-waga=ra,**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL get.up 1NSG.INS=REAL chop REDUP-split=3NSGO  
**da=vatu=re.**  
 1NSG.INS=weave=3NSGO  
*Then we cut the bamboo and bring them, and then we split them all and we weave them.*
- 65) **Da=vatu=e vano mo rovo, da=mo tai na**  
 1NSG.INS=weave=3SGO go REAL finish 1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC  
**ture-ture-gi, da=mo ture-ture-gi na**  
 REDUP-wall.support-AL 1NSG.INS=REAL REDUP-wall.support -APPL ACC  
**vale, mo rovo, da=mo labe-tagi na qetu-qetu-gi,**  
 house REAL finish 1NSG.INS=REAL stand-CAUS ACC REDUP-wall-AL  
**da=mo toto=ra sara hage mo rovo lo nago-gi,**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL nail=3NSGO LOC.PL up REAL finish LOC front-AL  
**lo qetu-qetu, lo tavalu-gi dali-deli vano mo rovo.**  
 LOC REDUP-wall LOC side-AL REDUP-side go REAL finish  
*We weave it all, and we chop the sticks to support the walls, and we put in the supports for the house, and then we stand up the walls and we nail them all up on the ends and on the walls on all sides.*

- 66) **Da=mo qetu=e rovo, da=mo tai na mata-i**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL wall=3SGO finish 1NSG.INS=REAL chop ACC eye-CONST

**turegi-gi vano vano mo rovo.**  
 path-ASS go go REAL finish

*We wall it all, and we chop all the doorway.*

- 67) **Da=mo bulu na mata-i turegi-de, u rovo**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL build ACC eye-CONST path-1NSG.INP TEL finish

**da=mo bulu na...**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL build ACC

*We build our doorway, and when that's finished we build the...*

- 68) **Da=mo vagaha na lolo-i vale-da, da=mo**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL clean ACC inside-CONST house-1NSG.INP 1NSG.INS=REAL

**bulu na bata-da vano mo rovo, da=mo kiri**  
 build ACC bed-1NSG.INP go REAL finish 1NSG.INS=REAL sweep

**na lolo-i vale, tauvohea vale u rovo, go=vagaha na**  
 ACC inside-CONST house when house TEL finish 2SGS=clean ACC

**ute varea, go=mo tuli vohogi na**  
 place outside 2SGS=REAL throw completely ACC

**ta-vise-vise-i bue, ale vale ngihie vale rovo.**  
 ANTI-REDUP-split-CONST bamboo so house that house finish

*We clean the inside of our house, we build all our beds, we sweep the inside of the house, and when the house is finished, clean the place outside, throw out all the leftover pieces of bamboo, and the house is finished.*

### Text 3: Speech

Following is the transcript of a speech given by Joel Garae of Lovusi Gamali Guweu hamlet, Lolovoli district, at Lovusi village on 19th August 1996. In his 60's, Joel is a respected member of the community and well known for his articulate speeches. While given in the traditional style, the context of this speech is far from traditional. The community has just acquired a 4WD vehicle, bought by one of Joel's younger brothers (referred to as Toa or Josephine's father in the speech) who lives in Port Vila, and Joel is taking the opportunity to thank their father (referred to as *tamaragai* or *olfala*(Bis.) 'the old man') for being both a respected and respectful member of the community, for without him they would not have had the opportunity to buy a vehicle.

While Joel is giving this speech in the village where he was born and lives, his speech is much influenced by the Longana dialect, as he used to live there when he was younger. In particular he uses the form *na=* for the first singular subject proclitic where *no=* occurs in Lolovoli, and he also uses a number of variations of demonstrative forms which occur in the Longana dialect but not in Lolovoli.

- 69) Harigi-ana Robert huri go=mo lado vo go=ni ware=eu  
 thank-NR Robert PURP 2SGS=REAL think say 2SGS=IRR call=1SGO  
 vo na=ni laqa vage.  
 say 1SGS=IRR speak too

*Thank you Robert for thinking that you would call me to speak too.*

- 70) Neu na=mo lado vo bataha niko gu vei na welgam,  
 1SG 1SGS=REAL think say I.think 2SG 2SGS:TEL make ACC welcome  
 vunu i tama-i Josephine mo egsplenem na  
 then PERS father-CONST Josephine REAL explain ACC  
 mata-hala-i bula-da taragi, vunu tamaragai hingahano  
 eye-way-CONST CL.NAT-1NSG.INP vehicle then old.man here  
 mo laqa, na=mo lado vo bataha neu na=ni hi  
 REAL speak 1SGS=REAL think say I.think 1SG 1SGS=IRR NEG  
 laqa tea.  
 speak NEG

*I thought that perhaps you had made the welcome, then Josephine's father explained the details involving our vehicle, then the old man here spoke, and I thought that I probably wouldn't speak.*

- 71) Ngie huri ne=mo lado vo mwere na=ni bului na leo-gi.  
 but PURP 2NSGS=REAL think say like 1SGS=IRR help ACC talk-ASS  
*But you thought that I would help with the speeches.*

- 72) No-ku leo vi=ni hi vanatu tea lawe na draeva,  
 CL.GEN-1SGP talk 3SG.IRRS=IRR NEG go:DIR NEG DAT ACC driver  
 na=mo rongo mwere tamaragai u laqa lu-ne beno tau.  
 1SGS=REAL hear like old.man TEL speak on-3SGP already here  
*My talk will not go out to the driver, I have heard that, like, the old man has spoken about that already here.*

- 73) Vunu huri vo na=ni veve na havagi vage huri vo  
 then COMP say 1SGS=IRR tell ACC what more COMP say  
 takiu lawe=go tama-i Josephine, na=u rongo  
 thank.you DAT=2SGO father-CONST Josephine 1SGS=TEL hear

tamaragai u veve na leo-gi beno lawe=go tau.  
old.man TEL tell ACC talk-ASS already DAT=2SGO here

*Then that I would say what else as a thank you to you, Josephine's father,  
I heard that the old man already made that speech to you here.*

- 74) Ngie neu na=ni laqa hingahano mwere, na=mo harigi  
but 1SG 1SGS=IRR speak here like, 1SGS=REAL thank:APPL  
niko hogosie, olfala Tom.  
2SG only old.man Tom

*But I'll speak here, and like I'll only thank you, old man Tom.*

- 75) Huri, vo vese niko, taragi hate.  
PURP if DEHOR 2SG vehicle NEG

*Because if it wasn't for you, there wouldn't be a vehicle.*

- 76) Vo vese niko, bataha lado-lado-mai lo hava gineu tea  
if DEHOR 2SG I.think REDUP-think-1NSG.EXP LOC what thing some  
mwere vo ga=u vei=re ngire, bataha hate.  
like say 1NSG.EXS=TEL make=3NSGO 3NSG I.think NEG

*If it wasn't for you, I think that whatever things we have thought about, like we  
would not have made them a reality.*

- 77) Ngie hingahano taragi ngahano hate roro-i Toa, hate  
but here vehicle this NEG news-CONST Toa NEG  
roro-i hine, roro-mu olfala.  
news-CONST who news-2SGP old.man

*But this vehicle is not Toa's news, it's not just anyone's news, it's your news  
old man.*

- 78) Go=mo toga tau mo sigei, mwere gu veve gimiu  
2SGS=REAL live yet REAL continue like 2SGS:TEL tell 2NSG  
beno, ne=u hako-vi gamai mo hivo mo dadari  
already 2NSGS=TEL hold-APPL 1NSG.EX REAL go.down REAL reach  
hivo-leheno<sup>3</sup> olfala Manase...  
down-DIST old.man Manase

*You are still alive, and like you have already spoken about yourselves, how  
you bore us, going right down as far as old man Manase...*

<sup>3</sup> This is a variant of the distal demonstrative, used in the Longana dialect, but not in Lolovoli.

- 79) **Aaa, go=mo hako-vi re vagabui-mai, bataha lo**  
 aah 2SGS=REAL hold-APPL PL grandchild-1NSG.EXP I.think LOC  
**lolo-mu ngihie, bataha go=mo lehi mo tavuigi mo**  
 thought-2SGP EMPH I.think 2SGS=REAL see REAL start REAL  
**mwasigi mo vomai.**  
 fruit REAL go:to.sp  
*Aah, you bore all of our grandchildren, and I think it's inside your mind, and I think that you see that the fruits of your work have started to come.*
- 80) **Vunu olfala Laet mwere ha, lo no-miu dede Gete,**  
 then old.man Light like that LOC CL.GEN-2NSGP teaching Gete  
**olfala Joseph, lo no-miu dede, lo no-miu**  
 old.man Joseph LOC CL.GEN-2NSGP teaching LOC CL.GEN-2NSGP  
**vai garea, lo no-miu tabe-tabe.**  
 do good LOC CL.GEN-2NSGP REDUP-respect  
*Then old man Light is like that, on your teaching Gete, old man Joseph on your teaching, on your good deeds, on your humility.*
- 81) **Ale sisingaha bataha ne=mo lehi huri vo no-mai**  
 so now I.think 2NSGS=REAL see COMP say CL.GEN-1NSG.EXP  
**de-dede ngihie, mwere ga=u toga ga=mo vai**  
 REDUP-teaching that like 1NSGS=TEL live 1NSGS=REAL do  
**haro-gini=e, sisingaha ra=mo tavuigi ra=mo mwasigi.**  
 random-APPL=3SGO now 3NSGS=REAL start 3NSGS=REAL bear.fruit  
*So now I think you see that our teachings, well we have stayed and we have mixed it up, but now they are starting to bear fruit.*
- 82) **Ra=mo tavuigi ra=mo mwasigi.**  
 3NSGS=REAL start 3NSGS=REAL bear.fruit  
*They are starting to bear fruit.*
- 83) **Bataha no-miu de-dede ngihie ra=mo tavuigi**  
 I.think CL.GEN-2NSGP REDUP-teaching that 3NSGS=REAL start  
**ra=mo dori na vanue.**  
 3NSGS=REAL change ACC villages  
*I think that your teachings have started to change the villages.*
- 84) **Ngire ngaha mwere he, olfala, neu na=ni hi veve na**  
 3NSG this like this old.man 1SG 1SGS=IRR NEG tell ACC  
**leo-gi tea huri vo go=mo tabe gamai gene gineu**  
 talk-ASS NEG COMP say 2SGS=REAL love 1NSG.EX INST thing

**vataha-gi mwere na=mo veve vaga-sao.**  
 every-ASS like 1SGS=REAL tell CAUS-many

*These are like this, old man, I won't make a speech about how you care for us with all the things that I have said many times.*

- 85) **Na=vo gu tabe i gamai, neu toga-gi**  
 1SGS=say 2SGS:TEL love PERS 1NSG.EX 1SG e.same.sex.sib-AL  
**mo bulu me re-re tehi-ku, mo bulu me re**  
 REAL join COM REDUP-PL y.same.sex.sib-1SGP REAL join COM PL  
**haqe-ku, vunu re aloa-ku dolegi, vunu na=mo**  
 op.sex.sib-1SGP then PL op.sex.sib.child-1SGP all then 1SGS=REAL  
**lado vo gu tabe i gamai, re tehi-mu**  
 think say 2SGS:TEL care PERS 1NSG.EX PL y.same.sex.sib-2SGP  
**la-lavasigi, vunu hava-mu tea mwerehilogo la-lavasigi,**  
 REDUP-some then family-2SGP some how REDUP-some  
**natu-i Lolovoli hingahano, no-mu tabe-tabe gamai**  
 offspring-CONST Lolovoli here CL.GEN-2SGP REDUP-care 1NSG.EX  
**dolegi.**  
 all

*I said that you have cared for us, me the oldest, reaching to all of my younger brothers, and reaching to my sisters, then my sister's children, and then I think that you have cared for us, some of you younger brothers, then some of you other relatives, the children of Lolovoli here, your care is all of us.*

- 86) **Hate vo tangaloi gatigale vi=veve vo, "Aa, olfala Tom hi**  
 NEG say person NUM:one 3SG.IRRS=tell say ah old.man Tom NEG  
**tabe=eu tea."**  
 love=1SGO NEG

*There is not one person who would say, "Ah, old man Tom didn't care for me."*

- 87) **Hate, na=veve vo no-mu tabe-tabe gamai dolegi.**  
 no 1SGS=tell say CL.GEN-2SGP REDUP-love 1NSG.EX all  
*No, I say that your care is all of us.*

- 88) **Huri vo tangaloi mwere mo tarani na hava gineu, mwere vo**  
 COMP say person like REAL want ACC what thing like say  
**vi=ni hui=go bagataha, go=ni bete lawe=a bagataha.**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR ask=2SGO today 2SGS=IRR give DAT=3SGO today  
*If someone wants anything, well s/he'll ask you today, and you'll give it to her/him today.*

- 89) **Siu na=mo lehi vo tabe-tabe ngihie, bataha**  
 CONJ 1SGS=REAL see say REDUP-respect that I.think  
**vi=rovo lu-ne.**  
 3SG.IRRS=finish on-3SGP  
*So then I see that the respect, I think it will be finished with him.*
- 90) **Ngaraha tamaragai ne=mo toga ngaha, no=mo lehi vo**  
 many.people old.man 2NSGS=REAL live now 1SGS=REAL see say  
**vi=rovo lu-ne.**  
 3SG.IRRS=finish on-3SGP  
*You old men live now, and I see that it will be finished with him.*
- 91) **Vo vi=ni mate tomue, vi=rovo lu-ne.**  
 if 3SG.IRRS=IRR die first 3SG.IRRS=finish on-3SGP  
*If he dies first, it will be finished with him.*
- 92) **Tabe-tabe taligu huri vo ama, mwere gamai ga=ni**  
 REDUP-respect again COMP say um like 1NSG.EX 1NSG.EXS=IRR  
**vei na nunu-gi, mwere vi=vomai, mwere**  
 make ACC image-AL like 3SG.IRRS=go:to.sp like  
**vi=kavremap, mwere olfala mo toga ngaha na=mo**  
 3SG.IRRS=cover.up like old.man REAL live now 1SGS=REAL  
**lehi hate, ga=u., mwere mo kilan hine ngi-lehe u**  
 see NEG 1NSG.EXS=TEL like REAL report who DEM-DIST TEL  
**veve mo=vo..., Garae Wahagi mo=vo, "Hate ga=u ran**  
 tell REAL=say Garae Wahagi REAL=say no 1NSG.EXS=TEL run  
**sot, ga=ni hi vei tea lai=e."**  
 short 1NSG.EXS=IRR NEG do NEG be.able=3SGO  
*Another respect would be that um, like we would make an image, and it will come and cover up, like this old man lives now and I see that it is not right, we...so he told me that, who said it...Garae wahagi said, "No, we have run short, and we won't be able to do it."*
- 93) **Hingahano harigi-ana lawe=go olfala, bataha leo-gi vo**  
 now thank-NR DAT=2SGO old.man I.think talk-ASS if  
**vi=ni qaravu huri vo na=ni veve na leo-gi tea**  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR long COMP say 1SGS=IRR tell ACC talk-ASS some  
**lawe tama-i Josephine sege lawe tama-i Jesse, hate,**  
 DAT father-CONST Josephine or DAT father-CONST Jesse no



**ngie na=mo harigi niko hogosie.**  
 but 1SGS=REAL thank 2SG only

*Now thanks to you old man, I think that the talk, if it would be long, so that I would give a speech to Josephine's father or to Jesse's father, no, but I am just thanking you.*

- 94) **Vo na=ni tore-gi na taragi lawe=go, na=mo lehi**  
 if 1SGS=IRR offer-APPL ACC vehicle DAT=2SGO 1SGS=REAL see

**hate, ga=ni hi tore-gini=e tea lawe=go.**  
 NEG 1NSG.EXS=IRR NEG offer-APPL=3SGO NEG DAT=2SGO

*If I offer the vehicle to you, I see that this is not true, we will not offer it to you.*

- 95) **Taragi ngaha bisnis.**  
 vehicle this business

*This vehicle is a business.*

- 96) **Huri vo mwere ga=ni bulu na vale gatigale vo**  
 COMP say like 1NSG.EXS=IRR build ACC house NUM:one say

**vale-mu ngie olfala, na=toga na=to-tore-gini=e**  
 house-2SGP 3SG old.man 1SGS=live 1SGS=REDUP-offer-APPL=3SGO

**lawe=go bagataha.**  
 DAT=2SGO today

*If we were to build a house, such that it's your house old man, then I would stay and offer it to you today.*

- 97) **Huri vo vale-mu ngie, huri go=ni meturu lolo-na.**  
 COMP say house-2SGP 3SG PURP 2SGS=IRR sleep inside-3SGP

*Such that it is your house for you to sleep in.*

- 98) **Ngingahano hate, da=ni hi tore-gini=e tea lawe=go.**  
 now no 1NSG.INS=IRR NEG offer-APPL=3SGO NEG DAT=2SGO

*Now no, we will not offer it to you.*

- 99) **Taragi bula-da, mwere ra=u veve beno, taragi**  
 vehicle CL.NAT-1NSG.INP like 3NSGS=TEL tell already vehicle

**mata-hala-da.**  
 eye-way-1NSG.INP

*The vehicle is ours, as they already said, the vehicle is our means of transport.*

- 100) **Taro vo mwere go=mo tarani na mata-hala tea tahiologo**  
time say like 2SGS=REAL want ACC eye-way some where  
**tea huri vo mata hala-mu tea tahiologo tea, ngaraha**  
some COMP say eye way-2SGP some where some many.people  
**ra=mo lai=go, ra=vano ra=mo tau=go taehe, siu**  
3NSGS=REAL take=2SGO 3NSGS=go 3NSGS=REAL put=2SGO there CONJ  
**ra=mo lai=go go=mo mule taligu.**  
3NSGS=REAL take=2SGO 2SGS=REAL go.home again  
*When you want a means of going any place, if your road takes you any place,  
then the people will take you and go and leave you there, then they will get you  
and bring you home again.*
- 101) **Ngie huri vo da=ni hora-gini=e lawe=go vo "Olfala,**  
but COMP say 1NSG.INS=IRR offer-APPL=3SGO DAT=2SGO say old.man  
**mata-hala-mu ngie", vaiteu ga=mo sina=go.**  
eye-way-2SGP 3SG careful 1NSG.EXS=REAL lie=2SGO  
*But that we would offer it to you that, "Old man, this is your means of  
transport", then we might be lying to you.*
- 102) **Sege vo ga=veve vo bule-mu taragi ngie, ga=ni**  
or if 1NSG.EXS=tell say CL.NAT-2SGP vehicle 3SG 1NSG.EXS=IRR  
**sina=go.**  
lie=2SGO  
*Or if we said that it is your vehicle, then we would be lying to you.*
- 103) **Ngie vo vale mwere ga=ni bulu=e huri vo mwere**  
but if house like 1NSG.EXS=IRR build=3SGO COMP say like  
**na vale mwere go=mo toga lolo-na hingi-hivo hileheno<sup>4</sup>,**  
ACC house like 2SGS=REAL live in-3SGP DEM-down there  
**i tama-i Mala u bulu=e hileheno, siu mo bete**  
PERS father-CONST Mala TEL build=3SGO there CONJ REAL give  
**na rum ngihie duvi-gi lawe=go, ngie vo ga=ni bulu=e**  
ACC room that end-AL DAT=2SGO but if 1NSG.EXS=IRR build=3SGO  
**huri vo mwere na vale gatigale, ngasevai na=ni veve vo**  
COMP say like ACC house NUM:one otherwise 1SGS=IRR tell say

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4 This demonstrative is characteristic of the Longana dialect.

**olfala vale-mu ngie huri go=ni meturu lolo-na.**  
old.man house-2SGP 3SG PURP 2SGS=IRR sleep in-3SGP

*But if we build a house like the house that you live in down there, that Mala's father built there, and then he gave a room, half of it to you, but if we build a whole house, in that case I would say that it's your house old man for you to sleep in.*

- 104) **Ngie hano hate, ga=ni hi hora-gini=e tea lawe=go.**  
but here no 1NSG.EXS=IRR NEG offer-APPL=3SGO NEG DAT=2SGO

*But here no, we will not offer it to you.*

- 105) **Ngie bula-da.**  
3SG CL.NAT-1NSG.INP

*It is ours.*

- 106) **Taragi bula-da.**  
vehicle CL.NAT-1NSG.INP

*The vehicle is ours.*

- 107) **Vai-ni venua-da, ngie roro-mu, mo garea i niko,**  
do-CONST village-1NSG.INP but news-2SGP REAL good PERS 2SG  
**ale taragi mo vomai.**  
so vehicle REAL go:to.sp

*It is something for our village, but it is your news, and it is lucky that you are here, then the vehicle came.*

- 108) **Vo vese niko, bataha taragi ngaha, mwere na=veve, ga=veve,**  
if DEHOR 2SG I.think vehicle this like 1SGS=tell 1NSG.EXS=tell  
**bataha taragi ngaha hate tau.**  
I.think vehicle this NEG yet

*If it wasn't for you, I think that this vehicle, as I said, we said, the vehicle probably wouldn't be here yet.*

- 109) **Hate Lolovoli.**  
NEG Lolovoli  
*Not at Lolovoli*

- 110) **Ngie mo garea i niko mwere gu veve beno.**  
but REAL good PERS 2SG like 2SGS:TEL tell already  
*But it is lucky that you are here as you have already said.*

- 111) **Siu harigi-ana lawe=go hogosie, vunu harigi-ana vage taligu**  
 CONJ thank-NR DAT=2SGO only then thank-NR too again  
**ngihie huri gimiu sinobu ngie.**  
 EMPH PURP 2NSG many.people 3SG  
*Then thanks only to you, then thanks as well again for all of you people.*
- 112) **Bataha leo-ku ngire behe.**  
 I.think talk-1SGP 3NSG end  
*I think that's the end of my speech.*
- 113) **Na=ni hi veve na leo-gi tea vage huri vo mwere**  
 1SGS=IRR NEG tell ACC talk-ASS NEG too COMP say like  
**na=ni gau-gini=e na=vano lo taragi ngie, hate.**  
 1SGS=IRR change.course-APPL=3SGO 3SGS=go LOC vehicle 3SG no  
*I won't say anything more so that I will change topic and go on about the vehicle, no.*
- 114) **Ngie na=mo harigi tama-mai hogosie, olfala.**  
 but 1SGS=REAL thank father-1NSG.EXP only old.man  
*But I am just thanking our father, old man.*
- 115) **Mata Dodo, Gete, Joseph, harigi-ana lawe olfala hogosie huri**  
 eye dark Gete Joseph thank-NR DAT old.man only PURP  
**vo mwere vo mo garea ngie, me i Matiu, mwere mo**  
 say like say REAL good 3SG COM PERS Matthew like REAL  
**garea ngie, mwere mo dedegi na vanue tahingaha, ale mwere**  
 good 3SG like REAL improve ACC place here so like  
**ga=mo lai na taragi ngihie.**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL take ACC vehicle that  
*Blind man, Gete, Joseph, thanks only to the old man, because it's a good thing he is here, and Matthew, like it's a good thing he is here, as he has improved the place here, and so we have got the vehicle.*
- 116) **Vo vese, bataha vale-mai... vale kava hate,**  
 if DEHOR I.think house-1NSG.EXP house corrugated.iron NEG  
**taragi hate, gineu dolegi bataha hate, ngie hogosie mwere vo**  
 vehicle NEG thing all I.think NEG but only like say  
**lu-ne, ale mwere ga=mo labe lu-ne, ale mwere**  
 on-3SGP so like 1NSG.EXS=REAL stand on-3SGP so like

ga=mo... da=vai na ngaraha ngire ngaha  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL 1NSG.INS=make ACC many.people 3NSG this

ra=vai na gineu ngihie mwere da=mo lehi mwere  
 3NSGS=make ACC thing that like 1NSG.INS=REAL see like

vo a vanua-da mo mala raka gene=a, ngie vo  
 say NOM place-1NSG.INP REAL quite improve INST=3SGO but if

vese ngie, bataha da=ni lehi huri vo gineu ngire hate.  
 DEHOR 3SG I.think 1NSGS=IRR see COMP say thing 3NSG NEG

*If not, I think our houses... there wouldn't be iron-roofed houses, there wouldn't be a vehicle, and probably there wouldn't be anything at all, but it's only because of him, so like we rely on him, and like we...we make the people do things, and like we see that our place has improved because of it, but if it were not for him, I think that we would see that there were none of these things.*

- 117) Siu harigi-ana lawe=go olfala, ga=ni halo  
 CONJ thank-NR DAT=2SGO old.man 1NSG.EXS=IRR offer

ga-mai loko laque hingahano, go=mo tabe  
 CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP pudding big here 2SGS=REAL respect

gamai gene=a, na=vo go=mo raha na ga-mai  
 1NSG.EX INST=3SGO 1SGS=say 2SGS=REAL grate ACC CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP

loko vaga-sao.  
 pudding CAUS-many

*So thanks to you old man, we'll offer our big pudding here, and you respect us with it, I say you have made our pudding many times.*

- 118) Bataha na=u suri=go beno, bataha vaga-vihe ngaha.  
 I.think 1SGS=TEL stop=2SGO already I.think CAUS-how.many now

*I think that I have already told you not to, probably how many times now?*

- 119) Hate, siu mwere go=mo raha, na=vo tabe-tabe ngihie,  
 no CONJ like 2SGS=REAL grate 1SGS=say REDUP-respect that

ga=ni hi vei tea lai, mwere neu vo go=ni  
 1NSG.EXS=IRR NEG do NEG be.able like 1SG if 2SGS=IRR

suri=eu gene hava gineu huri vo na=ni hi vei tea,  
 stop=1SGO INST what thing PURP say 1SGS=IRR NEG do NEG

na=u stop ngie, na=ni hi vei=e tea taligu.  
 1SGS=TEL stop 3SG 1SGS=IRR NEG do=3SGO NEG again

*No, then you still make pudding, and I say that's respect, we won't be able to do it, and like me, if you told me to stop doing anything, that I shouldn't do it, then I would stop there, and I wouldn't do it again.*

- 120) Ngie niko, mwere gu tabe-tabe, mwere go=mo raha  
 but 2SG like 2SGS:TEL REDUP-respect like 2SGS=REAL grate  
 na ga-mai loko vaga-sao, go=mo tabe  
 ACC CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP pudding CAUS-many 2SGS=REAL respect  
 gamai gene=a vaga-sao, ga=mo haloi na  
 1NSG.EX INST=3SGO CAUS-many 1NSG.EXS=REAL offer ACC  
 ga-mai loko ngihie gene ga-mu loko...  
 CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP pudding that INST CL.FOOD-2SGP pudding  
 aa, gete gatigale mo toga hingahano mena qana-mu  
 ah basket NUM:one REAL sit here and mat-2SGP  
 hingahano.  
 here

*But you, like you show respect, and like you make our pudding lots of times, and you respect us with it many times, and we offer our pudding here with your pudding...ah, one basket is here with your mat here.*

- 121) Aa, go=mo lehi hi tatarese tea me-na ga-mai  
 ah 2SGS=REAL see NEG equal NEG COM-ACC CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP  
 hinaga go=mo tabe gamai gene=a, vunu gene  
 food 2SGS=REAL respect 1NSG.EX INST=3SGO then INST  
 domi-mu, huri vo mwere ga=ni wono na  
 thought-2SGP COMP say like 1NSG.EXS=IRR repay ACC  
 lenga-mu ngihie... go=mo tabe gamai gene  
 good.character-2SGP EMPH 2SGS=REAL respect 1NSG.EX INST  
 ngihie ga=u vei samwegi.  
 that 1NSG.EXS=TEL do be.unable

*Ah, you see that it is not equal to our food that you respected us with, then with your thoughts, we should repay your good character... you respect us with it and we aren't able to do it.*

- 122) Bataha go=ni mate ngihie, na=vo lenga bataha  
 I.think 2SGS=IRR die EMPH 1SGS=say good.character I.think  
 vi=ni rovo.  
 3SG.IRRS=IRR finish

*I think you are going to die, and I say that this good character will probably finish.*

- 123) Vi=rovo taehe.  
 3SG.IRRS=finish there  
*It will be finished there.*

- 124) **Lenga ngihie mwere go=mo vai lawe i gamai.**  
 good.character that like 2SGS=REAL do BEN PERS 1NSG.EX  
*That good character like you act towards us.*
- 125) **Ngie gamai huri vo ga=ni maraga lu-ne, ga=ni**  
 but 1NSG.EX COMP say 1NSG.EXS=IRR get.up on-3SGP 1NSG.EXS=IRR  
**vei=e ngihie, na=mo lehi ga=ni ran sot.**  
 do=3SGO EMPH 1SGS=REAL see 1NSG.EXS=IRR run short  
*But us, it should be that we would stand on it, and we will do it, but I see that we will run short.*
- 126) **Ga=ni nio ga=ni hi vei=e tea lai.**  
 1NSG.EXS=IRR stay 1NSG.EXS=IRR NEG do=3SGO NEG be.able  
*We'll stay and we won't be able to do it.*
- 127) **Siu harigi-ana lawe=go.**  
 CONJ thank-NR DAT=2SGO  
*Well thanks to you.*
- 128) **Ga=mo halo na ga-mai loko gene...**  
 1NSG.EXS=REAL offer ACC CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP pudding INST  
**ga-mu loko sinu gatigale hingahano.**  
 CL.FOOD-2SGP pudding parcel NUM:one here  
*We offer our pudding with... one parcel of pudding for you here.*
- 129) **Ga-mu hinaga, duvi-gi mo eno hage-lehe.**  
 CL.FOOD-2SGP food half-AL REAL lie up-DIST  
*Your food, half of it is up there.*
- 130) **Hinaga ngire ngahano, mwere hate vo da=u**  
 food 3NSG here like NEG say 1NSG.INS=TEL  
**wogi-gini=re huri vo mwere da=ni geni=e**  
 work-APPL=3NSGO COMP so like 1NSG.INS=IRR eat=3SGO  
**da=ni guqe.**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR be.full  
*The food here, like it's not that we have made it so that we will eat it and be full.*
- 131) **Hate.**  
 no  
*No.*

- 132) **Ngie lado-lado-i hinaga ngihie huri vo mwere hinaga**  
 but REDUP-think-CONST food that PURP say like food  
**ngaha pati.**  
 this party  
*But the thought behind the food is that this food is for a party.*
- 133) **Da=ni vomai, da=mo sone bubugi, da=mo**  
 1NSG.INS=IRR go:to.sp 1NSG.INS=REAL come together 1NSG.INS=REAL  
**vuge-si na hinaga ngihie, da=mo gani bubugi vunu**  
 open-APPL ACC food that 1NSG.INS=REAL eat together then  
**da=mo sala-sala.**  
 1NSG.INS=REAL REDUP-go.away  
*We'll come, we come together, we open the food, we eat together and then we go our separate ways.*
- 134) **Ngie huri vo mwere da=ni mule me-na ta-vise-gi**  
 but COMP say like 1NSG.INS=IRR go.home CON-ACC ANTI-split-NR  
**ngie, hate.**  
 3SG no  
*But such that we will go home with a piece (of food), no.*
- 135) **Bana huri mwere na=u veve, vo mwere tau lo**  
 because PURP like 1SGS=TEL tell if like LOC LOC  
**lime-mai, ngasevai mwere da=mule-mule me-na**  
 hand-1NSG.EXP otherwise like 1NSG.INS=REDUP-go.home CON-ACC  
**malasi.**  
 leftovers  
*Because as I said, if it (food) was from our own hands, in that case I think we would go home with some leftovers.*
- 136) **Hingahano lo lime-i sinobu, lo tabe-tabe**  
 here LOC hand-CONST many.people LOC REDUP-respect  
**no-i sinobu.**  
 CL.GEN-CONST many.people  
*Here in the people's hands, at the respect of the people.*
- 137) **Ngie Toa hogosie mwere u vei=e, sinobu, ngie mo**  
 but Toa only like TEL do=3SGO many.people 3SG REAL  
**koko=e, ne=u tabe-tabe, ne=u vomai,**  
 bring.together=3sgO 2NSGS=TEL REDUP-respect 2NSGS=TEL go:to.sp



**mwere da=mo...**  
like 1NSG.INS=REAL

*But it was only Toa who did it, all the people, he brought them together, and you gave respect, and you came, and like we...*

- 138) **Ne=vai na hinaga ngihie nainoa, ne=mo ga-gara-si**  
2NSGS=make ACC food that yesterday 2NSGS=REAL REDUP-hurt-APPL  
**lu-ne mwere mo dadari bagataha hingahano, mwere**  
on-3SGP like REAL reach today now like  
**da=mo sone bubugi taligu, da=mo lusi**  
1NSG.INS=REAL come.together together again 1NSG.INS=REAL lose  
**na no-da taro-i tabana-gi.**  
ACC CL.GEN-1NSG.INP time-CONST work-NR

*You made the food yesterday, and you suffered because of it until today now, and like we come together again, and we are losing our work time.*

- 139) **Ngie huri mwere vo da=veve=a, no-da domi-domi**  
but PURP like if 1NSG.INS=tell=3SGO CL.GEN-1NSG.INP REDUP-think  
**bubugi, no-da tabe-tabe bubugi, no-da vai**  
together CL.GEN-1NSG.INP REDUP-respect together CL.GEN-1NSG.INP do  
**garea huri mwere da=mo bubugi lo hava gineu mwere**  
good PURP like 1NSG.INS=REAL together LOC what thing like  
**da=ni vei=e.**  
1NSG.INS=IRR do=3SGO

*But like we tell it, our thoughts together, our respect together, our good deeds so that we come together for anything that we make.*

- 140) **Mwere mo tatarese lo no-da domi-ana vata-vataha-gi**  
like REAL equal LOC CL.GEN-1NSG.INP think-NR REDUP-every-NR  
**gide ngihingahano.**  
1NSG.IN now

*Like it is equal to the thoughts of every one of us now.*

- 141) **Harigi-ana lawe=go olfala huri na ga-mai hinaga**  
thank-NR DAT=2SGO old.man PURP ACC CL.FOOD-1NSG.EXP food  
**me na no-mu leo ga-garea lawe i gamai.**  
CON ACC CL.GEN-2SGP talk REDUP-good DAT PERS 1NSG.EX

*Thanks to you old man for our food and your really good speech to us.*

- 142) **Ga=mo halo=e gene loko gete gatigale hingahano,**  
1NSG.EXS=REAL offer=3SGO INST pudding basket NUM:one here

**qana-mu ngire ngahano, ga-mu hinaga duvi-gi ngi-vano**  
 mat-2SGP 3NSG here CL.FOOD-2SGP food half-AL DEM-across

**hilehe.**

there

*We offer it with one basket of pudding here, these mats of yours, and the other half of your food over there.*

- 143) **Go=ni lehi re tua-da-ru vano tavalu Wai**  
 2SGS=IRR see PL same.sex.sib-1NSG.INP-DL across side creek

**Dodou.**

Dodou

*You will see our brothers there from the other side of Dodou Creek.*

- 144) **Ale go=mo lehi re tua-da-ru hivo tavalu**  
 so 2SGS=REAL see PL same.sex.sib-1NSG.INP-DL down side

**Wai Qaqangi mo hivo dori hegi, ngie maho-gi**  
 creek Qaqangi REAL go.down turn past and part-AL

**hingahano lolo eria tau hingahano.**

here in area LOC here

*Then you see our brothers from down on the other side of Qaqangi Creek, and down even further, and this part here in the area here.*

- 145) **Ale ngie mo eno lawe re maresu, vo ra=mo rosa**  
 so 3SG REAL lie BEN PL child if 3NSGS=REAL take.out  
**hinaga lo duvi-gi, vo mo manoga, ale mwere da=mo**  
 food LOC part-AL if REAL cooked so like 1NSG.INS=REAL  
**tu wahe-wahe lu-ne.**  
 stay REDUP-divide on-3SGP

*Then this is for the children, if they take out the food in one half (of the club house), and if it's cooked, then we'll share it out.*

- 146) **Sege vo tuegi qaro-gi, da=ni bubugi lu-ne tuegi.**  
 or if other raw-NR 1NSG.INS=IRR together on-3SGP other  
*Or if the other one is raw, then we'll join with the other.*

- 147) **Sege vo ngire vunu ra=u qaro, da=mo**  
 or if 3NSG then 3NSGS=TEL raw 1NSG.INS=REAL  
**sala-sala dene=a.**  
 REDUP-go.away ABL=3SGO

*Or if they're both raw, then we'll just go away and leave it.*

- 148) **Bataha veve garea lawe i gide dolegi.**  
I.think tell good DAT PERS 1NSG.IN all  
*I think I will thank all of us.*

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